

Four Days Before The Mast: A Study of Sail Training in the UK

Kenneth H McCulloch

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2002



Four days Before the Mast: A Study of Sail Training in the UK

Declaration

I, Kenneth Hyslop McCulloch, declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

4th November 2002

Abstract

The origins, nature and significance of modern sail training in the UK as an educational venture are considered, and providers' claims in respect of the benefits of participation are scrutinised. The study employs a sociological perspective, and has two main elements.

Firstly, the contemporary sail training movement is examined. It is shown to have origins and relations in the historical and cultural context of seafaring, and is located in a relationship to the practices of youth work and adventure education. An analytic framework of traditions is developed to differentiate the range of approaches identified in a survey of sail training providers in terms of their distinctive origins, value positions and culture, expressed purposes and preferred types of vessel. Case studies of three sail training organisations representative of the main traditions are presented, and it is argued that these distinctive traditions can be understood as ideologies, expressing significantly distinct views of the social world.

The second element of the study is an ethnographic account of practice in the main traditions, using observation and interview data from eleven voyages. The findings give attention to the experience of domestic and communal life and to participants' engagement in technical aspects of seafaring. The problems of living at sea faced by all participants are shown to form an inescapable background to exposure to the tasks and techniques of maritime work. Evidence from the fieldwork is compared with claims by providers regarding the benefits of participation, and it is argued that in its own terms sail training can be successful as an environment for learning to work with others in both the technical and domestic domains. Voyage duration is established as a key variable, and discrepant cases at two levels help to establish both the significance of boundaries, and the limiting conditions for positive outcomes in respect of providers' claims.

The central arguments of the study are, firstly, that sail training expresses implicit ideologies, through the ways power is understood and expressed. Secondly it is argued that it is the creation of an enclosed community or total institution, through the physical and social boundaries of a ship at sea that give the experience of participation its particular character as an environment for learning.

Contents

ABSTRACT	2
CONTENTS.....	3
ILLUSTRATIONS, TABLES AND DIAGRAMS.....	6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION – CONTEXT, RATIONALE AND A RESEARCH BIOGRAPHY	8
THE THESIS IN OUTLINE	11
RESEARCHING ADVENTURE.....	16
A RESEARCH BIOGRAPHY	20
CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	37
A METHODOLOGICAL MAP.....	37
IMPACT OR MEANING? – THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	42
RESEARCH DESIGN.....	45
REFLEXIVITY AND THE PRACTITIONER-RESEARCHER ROLE	52
GENERATING DATA.....	56
ANALYSING DATA	62
RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND ISSUES.....	66
CHAPTER 3: SAIL TRAINING IN CONTEXT - SEAFARING, YOUTH WORK AND ADVENTURE EDUCATION.	68
THE MARITIME ADVENTURE.....	73
YOUTH WORK AND CITIZENSHIP.....	80
OUTDOOR AND ADVENTURE EDUCATION	86
SAIL TRAINING: TALL SHIPS AND LEISURE YACHTING	90
A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	94
SAIL TRAINING RESEARCH.....	97

CHAPTER 4: UK SAIL TRAINING ORGANISATIONS - TRADITIONS, VALUES AND PURPOSES.....	101
THE TALL SHIP TRADITION.....	103
THE LEISURE YACHTING TRADITION.....	111
THE PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT TRADITION.....	117
THE PROFESSIONAL YACHTING TRADITION AND PROFESSIONALISATION.....	121
THE HISTORIC VESSEL TRADITION.....	122
CLAIMS AND ASPIRATIONS	124
CHAPTER 5: SAIL TRAINING VESSELS.....	128
THE ‘CLASSIC’ YACHT.....	130
THE TOPSAIL SCHOONER	135
THE ‘OLD GAFFER’	142
THE MODERN YACHT	143
A TYPOLOGY OF SAIL TRAINING VESSELS.....	145
SPACE AND COMMUNITY: THE (IRONIC) TALE OF <i>TEAM SPIRIT</i>	147
CHAPTER 6: VOYAGES AND VOYAGERS	151
A HEBRIDEAN JOURNEY IN <i>TAIKOO</i>	152
ACROSS THE NORTH SEA IN <i>SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL</i>	159
CONTEXT AND EXPERIENCE	166
‘FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE MAST’: VOYAGE DURATION AS A KEY VARIABLE	173
CHAPTER 7: LIVING AT SEA	177
SPACE AND MOVEMENT	180
BOUNDARIES AND FINITE LIMITS	182
ROUTINE AND FLEXIBILITY	183
“THERE’S A YOUNG GIRL I REMEMBER”: PRACTITIONERS’ CLAIMS AND EXEMPLARY TALES.....	186
“I THOUGHT THE BUNKS WERE LUGGAGE RACKS”: TRAINEES’ LIVES AT SEA	192
“DON’T RUN ABOUT ON DECK!”	194
COMMUNITY AND ‘INSTITUTIONALITY’	198

CHAPTER 8: A SAILOR'S LIFE.....	200
SAILING AN 'OLD GAFFER'	206
THE MODERN KETCH - <i>LORD RANK</i>	213
SEAMANSHIP AND 'LEARNING THE ROPES'	216
COLLECTIVE SAFETY	220
SUBVERSION OR CULTURAL DEBUNKING.....	221
RISK, AUTHENTICITY AND ARTIFICE	223
CHAPTER 9: INSTITUTIONALITY AND THE BENEFITS OF SAIL TRAINING	227
SHIPS AS TOTAL INSTITUTIONS	227
BENEFITS AND TRANSFORMATIONS?	229
CONFORMITY AND BOUNDARIES.....	232
'WE THOUGHT WE'D COME AND SAY HELLO'	234
THE STORY OF J	239
SIGNING OFF.....	243
INSTITUTIONALITY, COMMUNALITY, POWER AND IDEOLOGY	245
CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION.....	250
THE FINDINGS	250
THE FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDA.....	254
THE FUTURE OF SAIL TRAINING	255
REFERENCES.....	257
APPENDIX 1: VOYAGE MAPS	272
APPENDIX 2: SAMPLE DATA.....	284
INTERVIEWS - SURVEY OF SAIL TRAINING ORGANISATIONS	284
INTERVIEWS – FIELDWORK AT SEA.....	292
DESCRIPTION - FIELDWORK AT SEA.....	296
APPENDIX 3: DATA CODING FRAMEWORKS	305
NUDIST PROJECT: POLICY INTERVIEWS, JANUARY 1998-JULY 1999.....	305
NUDIST PROJECT: SAIL TRAINING VOYAGES, MARCH 1998 – JULY 2001.....	307
APPENDIX 4: SOFTWARE AND TECHNOLOGY	310

Illustrations, Tables and Diagrams

TABLE 1: SAIL TRAINING ORGANISATIONS SURVEY DATA SUMMARY (AUTUMN 1999).....	47
TABLE 2: CASE-STUDY VOYAGES - SUMMARY DATA.....	50
TABLE 3: TRADITIONS IN UK SAIL TRAINING – SUMMARY OF KEY FEATURES	95
FIGURE 1: PURPOSES IN SAIL TRAINING.....	97
FIGURE 2: INTERIOR LAYOUT DIAGRAM – WILLIAMS/CLARK 72' KETCH.....	134
FIGURE 3: INTERIOR LAYOUT DIAGRAM – SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL.....	139
FIGURE 4: A TYPOLOGY OF SAIL TRAINING VESSELS.....	147
PLATE 1: STOWING THE GALLEY	178
PLATE 2: DINNER IN ALBA VENTURER'S SALOON	187
PLATE 3: LIFE IN THE HALF-DECK, SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL	193
PLATE 4: HOISTING A GAFF SAIL.	209
PLATE 5: EFFORT MISJUDGED.....	211
PLATE 6: EFFORT WELL JUDGED.....	212
PLATE 7: FOREDECK – SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL.....	217
TABLE 4: MAJOR AND MINOR TRANSITIONS.....	219
TABLE 5: THE COMMUNAL AND THE INSTITUTIONAL - AN ANALYTICAL TYPOLOGY.	247

Illustration on Page 209 from PETER DUCK by Arthur Ransome published by Jonathan Cape. Used by permission of the Random House Group Limited

Acknowledgements

This project would never have started if my father Bill McCulloch had not infected me both with his love of the outdoors and his commitment to scholarly and practical enquiry. Many others have knowingly and unknowingly helped. Harry Cohen first opened the door to the world of sociology for me; as supervisors Pat McLaughlin and Pamela Munn have helped me to maintain that disciplined focus. My Head of Department Professor Lyn Tett has been constantly supportive and encouraging despite often having to gently divert my energy into work other than this project. Many people in the world of sail training have helped me knowingly and otherwise. In particular I would single out (in alphabetical order) Emma Ellis, Barry Fisher, Nick Fleming, Nigel Gardner and Ian Lerner all of whom have made special contributions. Most importantly I must thank my partner Alana Atkinson for her good humour, generosity and tolerance throughout the six years I have worked on this project. Even in my most doubtful moments she always expressed absolute confidence that it would, one day, be finished.

Chapter 1: Introduction – Context, Rationale and a Research Biography

At the end of the twentieth century in the UK two dozen or more organisations offer sail training experiences to around five thousand young people each year. Much of the effort to sustain this is voluntary, both in relation to financial resourcing and to the staffing of the vessels. With the capital cost of a new twenty metre sail training vessel at around one million pounds, and revenue costs of between two and three thousand pounds per week for a medium sized vessel in commission, this is by any estimate a significant social and educational phenomenon. It involves substantial effort and commitment by individuals and groups.

This activity is sustained against some significant obstacles, as illustrated by the fragility of the economic and organisational structures which support sail training. During the period of this study one of the largest UK sail training organisations, The Ocean Youth Trust, underwent a major financial crisis which resulted in the disaggregation from a national organisation into five new separate regionally based organisations. Two medium sized organisations, The Faramir Trust and The Cirdan Trust merged as a response to similar difficulties. During the same period new organisations such as the Shetland-based Swan Trust also began operating and at least three new vessels came into operation. It is a modern phenomenon, but with roots deeply embedded in the past and linked to a range of other educational practices. It deserves to be studied both for its intrinsic significance and interest, and for its potential to illuminate broader social and educational questions.

The thesis has two substantive elements, firstly considering a range of matters which demarcate sail training as a sphere of activity, and secondly examining the nature of participants' experiences. The first of these elements is best described as policy analysis, investigating the range and nature of sail training provision in the UK. The different organisations have some shared and some distinctive features, and express a variety of

claims regarding the purpose and benefits of sail training in general, and of their own approach in particular. A general survey of the field was undertaken, and several sail training organisations were examined in some detail in order to explore different accounts of the nature and purpose of participation. This part of the study included an investigation of the different types and sizes of vessels used, and the ways the various differences are understood by practitioners. The second and larger part of the study took the form of ethnographic fieldwork, developing an account of participants' experiences. A central concern in reporting the study was to integrate the findings of its two elements. It should be understood as considering both claims for, and the nature of, participation in sail training.

The central arguments of the thesis are, firstly, that the practices of sail training express ideologies. There are value positions regarding the nature of society, authority, order, and the relationships between (for example) women and men, young people and adults implied by the organisation and conduct of life and work aboard a sail training vessel. These value positions cluster to form ideologies or systems of belief, and the distinctions that can be identified in this respect in sail training reflect ideological positions in the wider world. Secondly, I argue that sail training does offer a powerful learning experience, and that the most important feature in this respect is the boundary or enclosure uniquely provided by a vessel at sea. What is unique about this particular study is the conjunction of perspectives concerned with sail training as a phenomenon in itself, with sail training as a particular kind of outdoor education, and with sail training as a branch of youth work. Much of the existing research on outdoor and adventure education has focussed through the lens of psychological theory on the nature of individuals' experience, attending to concepts such as motivation, behaviour and self-concept. In this study a sociological perspective is adopted, concentrating attention on the social purpose and meaning of sail training and on its relationship to other educational practices and to educational ideology.

Before going any further it is important to attempt some definition; what exactly is 'sail training'? The term itself is contestable; I have chosen to use this terminology to

encompass a range of practices which are variously referred to by their advocates as youth sailing, youth work at sea, adventure sailing and sail training. The choice of *sail training* is based on its broad currency as a label that can be understood to include considerable diversity. The label is something of a paradox, in that many if not most sail trainers will say that they are not principally concerned to train young people as sailors, although that may be a by-product of the work. The essential features are the use of sailing vessels of a size which can accommodate a group of young people and one or more staff living aboard for a period, time spent at sea, normally but not always exclusively under sail power, and motives which, in some way, give priority to the trainees' development as people. The experience may have as one of its outcomes the learning of sailing and seamanship skills but to qualify as sail training this should not be the primary purpose. The definitional boundary between 'sailing schools' which provide courses of instruction in sailing, and sail training organisations can occasionally be slightly fuzzy, but the key features outlined here are sufficient as an opening definition.

Sail training might be said to provide a context for learning, but to form only a modest and perhaps not ultimately very significant part of the content of that learning. Alfred Holt, co-founder of the first Outward Bound 'school' at Aberdovey, Wales, is quoted as advocating 'less a training *for* the sea than *through* the sea' (Miner 1990, 59) (italics as original). There are within this general definition many significant differences to be understood. These can be seen as arising from different conceptions of purpose, and are manifest in features such as the types of vessel used and in the culture and practices characteristic of particular approaches. In the UK the smallest sail training vessels are yachts of around 10m/35ft length, carrying perhaps two staff and four or five trainees, and the largest are ships of 40m/130ft or more carrying a dozen or more staff and thirty or forty trainees. Size is not the only dimension of difference to be considered; the technologies by which sailing vessels operate range from traditional to very modern with many steps between. Alongside consideration of the several variables that the vessels themselves embody, the significance of the particular waters sailed, length and duration

of voyages, and weather conditions experienced all contribute to the variety of experiences available to participants.

Throughout the thesis I have used the term *sail training* to subsume the practices of all the organisations falling within this broad definition. Participants are referred to as *trainees*, or collectively as a *crew*, and workers in sail training are described as *staff* or *practitioners*, or by specific role references as *Skipper* or *Bosun* for example. It is important to indicate that these usages have been selected for consistency within the text, and to note that these terms are used in different ways in different organisations and traditions. ‘Crew’ for example, in one tradition’s usage refers to participants whereas ‘permanent crew’ in another context refers specifically to paid (distinguished from volunteer) staff. It is also worth saying that I have unapologetically used, where necessary, the traditional terms seamanship, seamanlike, man overboard and their ilk. This is not an unexamined linguistic sexism but reflects the natural language used in the setting.

The Thesis in Outline

This introductory chapter serves three purposes. Firstly it offers the reader an outline of the thesis, outlining the main themes and arguments, and indicating the ground covered in subsequent chapters. Secondly some questions about research in outdoor and adventure education generally are explored. The argument developed concerns the predominantly psychological basis and individualistic ideologies underlying much such research. Research proceeding from a sociological perspective is, I have set out to demonstrate, necessary and important as a means to explore questions not of effect but of purpose and meaning. Finally this chapter includes an account of some features of the research process in the form of what Ball (1993) has called a ‘research biography’.

Chapter 2 sets out the methodological basis for the study, including the design and research questions. The significance of these matters arises from the need to justify *my* account and analysis of sail training. This is attempted firstly by explaining the methods and procedures used, to establish their systematic nature, and secondly by exploring the

methodological domain, in order to establish what is possible as a claim of knowledge. These two themes are equally important, and establish theoretical grounds for the validity of the account which follows. This chapter argues the necessity of descriptive research as a strategy for developing understanding of sail training. The problematic question of 'impact' is discussed, and the process of developing research questions is described. The central argument of the chapter is that a qualitative, mainly ethnographic approach is necessary and appropriate for researching sail training at this fundamental level, where the key questions concern the nature and purpose of these activities. A key theme is reflexivity; as an instance of 'practitioner research' the study is both made possible and is constrained by my history of involvement with the phenomena as both practitioner and as researcher.

The initial question that gave rise to this work was one about the significance of the experience for participants. What were the effects of participation, and how were they perceived by young people? What claims of benefit did sail training organisations and practitioners make, and to what extent did these two questions produce congruent answers. One influential study of youth work in Scotland (Hendry, et al. 1991) includes a comparison of youth workers' views of their work and its key features, and the perceptions of young people, a key finding being that there is often a considerable gap between what youth workers believe they are achieving, and the interpretation of the same situation by young people. An early decision at the planning stage was to attempt to describe the degree of congruence between the claims and expectations of sail training's advocates and practitioners, and the experiences of young participants. The approach in this project has drawn strongly on reflexive approaches to evaluation and has a stakeholder perspective (Weiss 1986) manifest in the multiple focus on policymakers, practitioners and participants. The research described here therefore emerged from questions about the purpose and benefits of sail training, understood from a perspective which combined personal involvement and experience with a growing intellectual curiosity about how and why such phenomena develop, and on what basis they are judged successful.

Chapter 3 explores the context of contemporary UK sail training, considering both historical and contemporary concerns and establishing the links between sail training and its relations in the wider field of adventure education, and youth work. The chapter introduces a model of traditions in sail training which provides a preliminary framework of distinctions. The purpose of the chapter is to consider both some of the *origins* and the *relations* of sail training. The contemporary sail training movement in the UK exists alongside a number of other types of educational work. Historically and culturally it has roots alongside both youth work, and the outdoor and adventure education movement that emerged after the Second World War. There are affinities among these practices and the main purpose of this chapter is to disentangle, so far as is possible, what is distinctive about sail training from what it has in common with its relations. By developing an analytic perspective on these broad questions the scene is set for a more detailed examination of the range of practices to be found across the range of UK sail training, and of the claims made regarding benefits. This prepares the ground for further examination of the question of ideology and the ways different traditions can be understood as expressing particular orientations.

In Chapter 4 the findings of a survey of UK sail training organisations are presented. Case studies of several organisations are developed and the model or typology of traditions in sail training is elaborated. During the 1950s and 1960s a number of groups and individuals began to independently develop ideas and practices which were to become the modern sail training movement. The striking feature of this movement at the time is the simultaneous development of some remarkably similar practices by people working quite independently of one another. The London Sailing Project began in 1960, Ocean Youth Club was formally constituted at about the same time, as was The Sail Training Association.

A number of explanations might be proposed for this historical phenomenon; the end of National Service in 1960 (Gardiner and Wenborn 1995) coincided closely with the birth of a number of these organisations, and it might be speculated that one purpose was to substitute the benefits of sail training for the presumed benefits of military service. The

involvement of senior military officers active and retired in the formation and governance of some of these organisations might be argued to constitute evidence for such a view, and indeed a number of informants offered such an interpretation. Another explanation arises from consideration of the documented boom in small boat sailing in the post-war period. What had hitherto been a recreation largely restricted to a wealthy elite became, if not a mass participation sport, certainly one that large numbers of mainly middle class people began to enjoy. The boundary between sailing for pleasure or as sport, and sailing as an educational activity with purposes oriented towards ends beyond the skills of seamanship is not always perfectly clear.

Chapter 5 completes the context setting, with an examination of the technologies – the sail training vessels aboard which the fieldwork took place. Sail training in the UK was, for its first quarter-century or thereabouts, wholly self regulated in relation to safety and staffing. Most vessels were of a size and type to be treated in maritime law as if they were private yachts. As so often happens loss of life proved the trigger for regulation. The loss of the *Marques* in the Atlantic in 1984 was the seminal event in a process which led to the publication in 1990 of a Code of Practice for Sail Training Vessels, soon afterwards subsumed into a more wide-reaching Code of Practice for Small Commercial Vessels (DoT Surveyor General's Organisation 1993). This Code applies to any vessel operating sail training activity, as a sailing school or as a charter vessel. It is entirely concerned with the safe construction, equipping, staffing and operation of such craft, and not with the specific purposes and practice of sail training. Sail training organisations were extremely active in the consultation processes leading to the publication of the Code and many aspects, particularly for example the section on the ‘manning’ (sic) of vessels reflects what would be regarded as minimal good practice in sail training. The particular focus of Chapter 5 is on the ways design and sailing technology create possibilities and constraints for particular kinds of experiences, and how participants’ experiences are framed by the particular environment of one type of vessel or another.

Moving to focus on the nature of the experience itself, Chapter 6 sets out the essential frame for any sail training experience. Voyages differ in respect of duration, location, weather and other factors, and the significance of these variances is considered as defining the nature of individuals' experience as participants. Participants themselves are also contributors to their own and one another's experiences. Consideration of variance among participants is therefore necessary, in relation both to characteristics such as age, sex and social class and to differences between, for example, autonomous participation by individuals and participation negotiated through some institutional framework such as school, a youth project or a social work agency.

Chapters 7 and 8 are in an important sense the pivot around which the thesis as a whole is centred. In Chapter 7 *Living at Sea* an account is developed of some fundamental elements of the experience. The argument is that even the least enthusiastic trainee is committed by their participation to discovering the peculiar nature of shipboard life, which has unique qualities as a social setting, as a physical space and as an environment which responds to and reflects the conditions of the sea. Whatever an individual's level of interest in steering the ship, navigating or setting and trimming sails the conditions of their everyday existence are bounded by these inescapable and sometimes difficult conditions. Resting on that foundation is the possibility for trainees of discovering *Life as a Sailor* (Chapter 8), through the acquisition of the social and technical skills of sail handling, steering and general seamanship. Both of these domains of experience are cited by advocates as providing significant opportunities for benefit and learning by participants and the intention is to illuminate and evaluate such claims.

The penultimate chapter is analytically summative, seeking to draw together the argument as a whole, both in relation to the comparison of claims and performance and in terms of theory-building. The core arguments of the thesis are that the particular 'impact' of participation in sail training derives principally from the concentrated inescapability of the setting, and thus from the creation of an intense experience of communality or institutional life. Secondly it is argued that the particular character of that experience expresses systematic values and beliefs about individuals and their social

relations that should be described as ideologies. Community and Institutionality are counterposed as conceptualisations not simply of ways of being in themselves but as expressing and modelling ideologies with a wider significance. Sail training, it is argued, can be understood as reflecting the social world around it but also as offering potential opportunities to model different approaches to the exercise of power and authority.

The concluding chapter considers the potential implications of all of this, both in terms of practice and research. A number of issues for sail training practice are explored, and the potential for more emancipatory approaches in various respects is considered.

Finally a possible agenda for further research is considered. This might seem formulaic but in this case the almost unexplored field of sail training both demands to be better understood and offers a rich potential for further investigation both in itself and alongside its various relations.

Researching Adventure

The fields of Outdoor and Adventure Education have generated quite significant bodies of research literature. A search of literature in 2000 revealed some 120 publications during the previous two decades with some claim to be described as research focussed on some kind of outdoor or adventure education context. This body of work falls into a number of categories, the largest of which focuses on individuals, using psychological frames of references. Much of this literature originates in the USA and is concerned with the impact of various experiences on individuals, often in the context of therapy or 'correction'. Conceptually much of this work attends to ideas of self-concept or self-esteem (Grocott 1999), self-efficacy (Armsden 1995) and locus of control (Neufeld 1997). This finding is consistent with, and draws on Barrett and Greenaway's (1995) findings regarding the paucity of UK research in outdoor adventure, and the dominance of psychological, measurement-based approaches.

An evaluation of *The VisionQuest Program* (Greenwood and Turner 1987) is of particular interest as an example of this general kind of research. *The VisionQuest Program* was privately run as a contractor to State juvenile correction arrangements,

using a variety of methods including 'wagon trains' in remote wilderness areas as an experiential context. The study focuses mainly on careful comparison of recidivism rates among the young offenders referred to *VisionQuest*; description of the processes of the programme is limited and purpose is treated as essentially unproblematic. Bandoroff and Scherer (1994) consider a four-day programme integrating 'wilderness experience' trekking in the deserts of southern Idaho with family therapy, describing an evaluation of the programme and exploring methodological issues. Positive outcomes for participants were revealed in terms of both their responses to the programme itself and in terms of measures of 'problem' behaviour and 'adolescent self concept'.

A wide ranging study (Davis-Berman and Berman 1994) of 'Wilderness Therapy' practices has been undertaken. The authors advocate the use of recreational and outdoor activities and settings as the context for work with 'troubled adolescents' and 'other populations' (p13) with the intention of bring about changes in individuals. The focus is broad, encompassing work focussed on mental health or offending, alongside a range of outdoor programmes run by schools, for the development of leadership and by universities and health care organisations. 'Therapy' in this analysis shades into a variety of non-therapeutic domains and its significance is as a sign of the preoccupation with individualised change, understood through the lens of psychology. Davis-Berman and Berman's treatment of *Theoretical Understanding of Wilderness Experiences* is particularly revealing, referring exclusively to theories of self and of individual learning, with a strong emphasis on the humanistic psychology of Maslow and Rogers. In a similar vein Kimball (1980) presents a meta-analysis of 80 such programmes, providing further support for the view that individual change and measures such as offending behaviour are core preoccupations.

These concerns with individual change are evident in much of the research literature, and are not exclusively American. In the UK Nichols (1996) presents a similar view drawing on criminological perspectives in relation to young offenders. Programmes considered are mainly aimed at reducing offending and include examples of claims about successful programmes. A useful observation is that about the use of concepts of

'cognitive deficiency' as explanations for some types of offending, and of the potential for adventure-based interventions to directly address these assumed deficiencies. Sveen (1993) gives an account of Australian work on adventure as a means of working with young people 'at risk'. Barrett (1993) represents the relative lack of outdoor programmes specifically targeting young people labelled in these ways in the UK as a failure, given what are claimed as the benefits such programmes offer.

In much of this work the question of purpose is treated as relatively unproblematic. During the 1990s however such concerns have become more prominent. Feminist researchers have made an important contribution, raising questions about the gendered nature of many outdoor programmes. In an exploration of wilderness therapy for women, Cole, et al. (1994) raised some problems and weaknesses in relation to both the research conducted and programming in wilderness therapy experiences. Issues such as appropriateness of programmes for women from varied cultural backgrounds, class considerations, the male model upon which most wilderness adventure programmes are based, the reproduction or perpetuation of gender based stereotypes and values, and the lack of research to support some of the assertions of benefit given by programme staff are all, in this analysis, problematic.

Griffin (1997) explores some issues arising from consideration of the growth of 'wilderness programmes' as a therapeutic response to 'defiant teens' in California. The growth of so called Specialty Schools in the USA offering such programmes is described as 'attempting to police and smooth over potentially difficult moments of transition to adulthood in a caring yet controlling way'. The central argument of Griffin's paper focuses on 'the need to consider how young women (and men) are represented in specific contexts as consumers and especially as disordered consumers, and the ways in which such representations and the associated regimes of management and treatment are gendered, sexualized, racialized and class-specific.' In the UK context Humberstone (1987; 1990; 1993; 1996), see also Humberstone and Pedersen (2001) has developed arguments for attention to gender issues in outdoor and adventure education, and also advocates a feminist / interpretivist approach to research.

Historically oriented research into the development of outdoor recreation in the UK is exemplified by the work of Walker (1988), which charts the cultural redefinition of the countryside in the early 20th century, and analyses the emergence of groups and individuals which comprised the mainly working class movement for access to the countryside for leisure use. Taylor (1993) presents a similar argument, that the outdoor movement evolved not only as a practical recreational fellowship, but also as an influential campaigning lobby which contributed significantly to the formulation of broadly social democratic planned approaches to land use and leisure in the twentieth century. Cook (2001) explores the differential approaches to boys and girls in the emergent outdoor education movement in the UK. Boys are described in this account as being prepared for war and to serve the empire, girls for domestic and caring roles. Concerns with the political or ideological context have been largely the concern of historians, and sociological analysis of outdoor and adventure education is a relatively untouched field.

The arguments for the use of a sociological perspective on outdoor and adventure education in general, and sail training in particular, are of two main kinds. Firstly there is the 'Mount Everest' argument, simply that because it is an untouched problem it is worth doing 'because it is there'. This is a justification on the grounds that the combination of subject and approach are novel and might reasonably be expected to generate both substantive and formal theory in Glaser and Strauss's sense, where substantive theory 'is developed for a substantive or empirical area' whereas formal theory 'is developed for a formal or conceptual area' (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 32-35). Thus it is argued both that sail trainers and other outdoor educators might benefit from the substantive theory dimension and that sociologists and educational researchers from the potential development of new formal theory.

Secondly there is an argument about fitness for purpose. The premise here is that the important questions that need to be investigated in a study of sail training concern the social nature of the experience and the social purpose or purposes that are being served by such activities. Descriptive, meaning-oriented work (Davidson 2001), and theory

building is required alongside and as part of any attempt to 'test' the 'effectiveness' of sail training when purpose is contestable. The imperative in reaching an understanding of these questions of nature and purpose is to 'examine situations through the eyes of the participants' (Cohen, et al. 2000, 137). It is now quite widely accepted that 'humanistic and qualitative' (Barrett and Greenaway 1995, 53) approaches to research in outdoor education offer a more fruitful avenue than the scientific paradigm that has tended to be employed almost exclusively until recently. This study follows such an approach and it is to the particulars of the research that this and the following chapter now turn.

A Research Biography

This account of the process has been developed from the research journal that I kept, somewhat sporadically, during the six years of the project. Its purpose is to explore some of the issues and problems of the research activity and processes I engaged in, and so to provide evidence in support of the case for the validity of my account and analysis of sail training. It is an attempt to give concrete expression to reflexivity as an accomplishment.

The story of this project really starts well back in my own history and experience. Far from being a clearly bounded project it is deeply embedded in the fabric of my life. I became involved in sail training in the early 1990s and was 'passed out' as a First Mate by Ocean Youth Club in 1995. The assessment process at that time involved two week-long voyages under assessment, with two different skippers in different vessels and waters. Simulated emergencies had to be dealt with and both technical abilities and the capacity to work with and manage the other staff and trainees were all scrutinised. These two weeks were very stressful but highly rewarding experiences, and allowed me to reach a point where my own skills and understanding were developed sufficiently to be able to deal with most foreseeable eventualities, while at the same time the limitations of my own competence became clearer. The idea of undertaking this research was emerging at that time, and really sprang from that milestone in my own journey.

In September 1995 I graduated with a Masters degree, after a summer largely spent actively working in sail training. The focus of my MEd dissertation (McCulloch 1995) had been on how youth workers in two projects evaluated their practice, and I had begun to think about how some kind of research approach to sail training might be developed. By the end of the year the outline of a project had been developed and my registration for a PhD accepted. The first months were spent beginning to explore possible avenues of reading, and trying to develop the initial outline into a set of firm plans for action. In summer 1996 I undertook two one-week voyages in the Ocean Youth Club's *Taikoo*, with the intention of testing some strategies for data generation. This was not in a formal sense part of the fieldwork; there was no intention to make systematic use of any substantive data that might be generated, but simply to explore how, as a practitioner, I could integrate the roles of researcher and worker. I joined the boat at Ullapool on 15th July, equipped with a cassette recorder, notebooks, some plans for interviews at different stages of the voyage, and a substantial supply of plain paper. The boat's previous ten days had been spent on a demanding and eventful voyage to the Faeroe Islands and back, leaving the full time skipper Nick Fleming if not exhausted certainly in dire need of some rest. His next 'relief' was not due until the following week and I was asked if I would like or be willing to act as skipper, under Nick's supervision, for the week. This was in many senses a difficult proposition to refuse, however it was also a fairly inauspicious start to the fieldwork.

The problems of role and of detachment that were to be salient throughout the project were immediately in the foreground. Only the combination of a relatively unambitious itinerary and unchallenging weather made it possible to attempt any recording of systematic observation and a couple of pilot interviews with trainees. The key lesson seemed to be the importance of trying to find roles aboard vessels which would allow me the space and energy to focus more single-mindedly on the collection of data. The hope that I would be able to conduct a dozen interviews or so, and that I could use my supply of paper to ask trainees to write their impressions, thoughts and feelings at various times proved to be only a hope. I was simply far too busy organising the boat,

attending to safety, planning the catering and supporting the other staff. While Nick either slept or pursued a range of maintenance tasks, my ambitions as a researcher were buried under a whole range of more pressing demands on my time and attention. It was an enjoyable and highly instructive week, but not in the ways I had planned and anticipated.

The following week I stayed with the boat while Nick took a week's leave, and was replaced by a freelance relief skipper, David Gray. 'Captain' Gray has what seems to me well deserved reputation as a highly skilled seaman but also as authoritarian and distant in his relations with staff and trainees. He seemed to take some pleasure in making demands of his staff, and time and energy for observation or interviewing were hard to find. I developed a throat infection early in the voyage and was hard pressed even to fulfil my role as Mate. I left the boat with only two quite brief sets of notes of observation from that second week. This season's effort left me a bit despondent, the problems of collecting systematic data seemed enormously difficult and doubt as to the feasibility of the project began to emerge.

During 1997 planning for Moray House to merge with the University of Edinburgh began in earnest. As Course Leader for the BA in Community Education I was drawn into the process of planning undergraduate programmes under the anticipated regime, and found myself with very little space into which the research project could be fitted. It was not until the late autumn of 1997 that it began to seem possible to create some space for this work, and I began work on the overview of UK sail training. It became clear that Ocean Youth Club and The Sail Training Association required particular scrutiny, and a visit to the Portsmouth area in January 1998 was planned. I made appointments to talk to senior staff in both organisations, leaving what I hoped would be sufficient unplanned time in the two and a half days of my visit to talk to other people in these organisations and perhaps to make some other contacts in the area.

I had brought a smart blazer and a discreet tie for my visit to The STA. The information and material gathered in advance had signalled a fairly conservative kind of

organisation, and I saw as soon as I was admitted to the building that I had made a good decision. The office had quite a formal, hierarchical feeling about it. People were conservatively dressed, and the walls had pictures of the STA ships, and a very prominent cabinet of silver cups and trophies. The Director's office was the only closed private space with a single large desk, and I was clear as soon as I walked in that the jacket and tie had been the right choice. 'I felt I dealt reasonably effectively with both the Chief Executive and his colleague the Marine / Training Manager, the latter a rather more laid-back and amiable character than his boss. The conscious decision to arrive dressed in jacket and tie felt like the right one; I think it's possible that had I turned up in more casual dress I may not have been taken quite so seriously' (Journal 28/1/98). Later the same day visiting the Ocean Youth Club offices across the harbour in Gosport, I felt a little over-dressed; most of the men I spoke to were not wearing ties while I was. The atmosphere there was less formal and I characterised the difference at the time as that between 'Naval' and 'Youth Work' traditions.

The next day was spent mainly at the OYC office, looking through some documents and conducting several interviews. The most significant experience of the day was an interview with Emma Ellis, daughter of Chris Ellis who had started the OYC in the 1960s. Emma's father had died a few weeks previously and she talked about him, his life and his ideas about sail training. 'A very powerful experience - not the sort of interview that can be planned and structured in advance but I think a very valuable source. Left feeling privileged, humbled, moved' (Journal 29/1/98).

Key impressions carried away from these visits were of a positive welcome both from STA and especially from OYC. The former still needed to be courted and my own *bona fides* established, but it did seem that I had begun to form a positive relationship. OYC was very welcoming; the director seemed keen to support the research and evidently understood something of what I was trying to achieve. The STA were evidently willing to cooperate and we had a discussion about the most appropriate role for me to take on a voyage or voyages. My Yachtmaster qualification would clearly provide an entrée to the 'Watch Officer' role aboard the STA vessel and the signals at my meetings were that

they would be happy to have me sail with them as a watch officer – come researcher. Something of a setback to my original tidy research design emerged when it became clear that a suitable vacancy for me to sail with STA in this role might not be available during the 1998 season. My hope had been to sail with STA in both 1998 and 1999 but that was not to be. OYC were also very accommodating in an agreement to offer me first refusal, whenever possible, for the role of ‘legal’ first mate¹ when a first mate’s assessment was taking place.

The insider-researcher relationship with OYC had a clear pay - offs in terms of access to a range of material such as accounts written by young people, reports by teachers and social workers, and some returns of an internal ‘evaluation questionnaire’. There is also a downside to this relationship; some interviewees responded on the basis of such a strong assumption of intersubjective understanding that any difference between their and my understandings may not have become explicit. The same issue emerged in interviews with STA staff. My journal records that ‘because I knew something of the history I was nodding and yessing at one or two points and generated comments such as “I can see you are familiar with the story”. I suppose the lesson is that all interviews should be conducted with a slightly puzzled expression. Is this anthropological strangeness?’ (Journal 31/1/98). The first 2 or 3 interviews I conducted during these visits started me thinking about how to get beyond (in my supervisor Pamela Munn’s phrase) the rhetorical level. ‘In my interview with [the Director] at STA on Friday I tried to be a little less accepting and uncritical, to try to pose some degree of challenge in an ethnomethodological sense. Not easy and I was wary of being perceived as too pushy and aggressive too soon in my relationship with the organisation’ (Journal 1/2/98).

¹ The ‘legal’ first mate is a person capable of taking over the running of the vessel in the event of the Skipper’s incapacity. This was both a policy of OYC and a requirement in The Code of Practice for Small Commercial Vessels (DoT Surveyor General’s Organisation 1993). When a prospective First Mate is being assessed the ‘legal’ first mate’s role can be limited to that contingency.

The first fruit of my agreement with OYC was an invitation to sail on *Lord Rank* for a week in March 1998 as legal mate on a voyage where an assessment was taking place. This was the first genuine attempt at fieldwork at sea in a real sail training environment. In my new role I hoped to have considerable freedom to focus on the tasks of observation and interviewing; only in the event of the skipper's incapacity would I actually be required to focus primarily on the safety of the vessel and those aboard rather than on data collection. This was at various times both more and less difficult than I had anticipated. Consciousness of my obligation to be ready for unexpected events made it impossible for me to entirely distance myself from, for example, navigation. The habit of keeping myself in the picture as to where we were and what the overall situation was in terms of weather, tide, hazards and problems were so ingrained that even had I been able to, I think it would have been hard not to find some attention taken up with that. Specific requests by the skipper also meant that on this occasion I was often required to take responsibility for a range of tasks that might usually have belonged to the first mate, such as navigation and communication with the Coastguard.

We left Bangor on the Sunday afternoon and quickly went into a seagoing routine. A delayed departure due to a technical problem with the boat's engine controls meant that we had missed the optimum moment and an adverse tidal stream made the passage longer than planned and very uncomfortable. Several of the trainees were seasick and I felt tired and rather unwell myself, and failed to do any systematic observation or interviewing during that first passage. As the days passed however I found myself able to make a lot of observations and to conduct interviews, eventually coming away from this particular episode of fieldwork with four hours worth of tapes to transcribe and a substantial pad of written notes. The voyage felt like a success in relation to the data collected but raised a lot of questions about technique, as well as about focus and themes. In creating records it was during this voyage in cold spring weather that I identified the potential of using some kind of lapel microphone. I thought that would make recording less obtrusive, in that I could keep the tape recorder in my pocket rather than having it in my hand all the time. It would also make it easier to record more. In

cold weather having to get the thing out of a pocket each time was definitely a disincentive.

At the same time as this seagoing fieldwork was being planned and conducted, I had started to develop the survey of sail training organisations. I was writing and telephoning all the organisations I could find details of, with widely varying degrees of response. In the cases of OYC and the STA I embarked on a series of telephone interviews with 'the great and the good' of sail training. This was particularly rewarding in generating a lot of material from which to develop an analysis of purposes. One of the interesting features of these interviews was the apparent willingness of some informants to go beyond the rhetorical level in their expression of private thoughts about the nature of the field. It seemed to me that telephone interviews of the kind I was conducting provide a means of establishing a peculiar kind of rapport, in which both interviewer and informant are often able to establish a level of intimacy that would be more difficult in a face-to-face setting

The wider survey of sail training organisations was much more time consuming than I had anticipated. The interval between communications was often lengthy and simply setting up a telephone interview sometimes seemed to take up an amount of time and effort out of proportion to the value of the data. I had originally planned to try and complete at least one telephone interview with every organisation, but when it was becoming clear that in quite a number of cases these interviews were adding relatively little to the picture that could be developed from a review of documents and correspondence, I decided to modify the plan. It was important to get as much of this done as soon as possible, so that fieldwork at sea was undertaken as far as possible informed by questions arising from the claims about purpose. For these reasons the analysis of this material was begun and developed alongside the data collection from sail training organisations, so that as the seagoing fieldwork began I had at least a preliminary set of ideas about claims of benefit and providers' explanations of purpose. This was important because of the way it generated questions and sensitising concepts to inform the fieldwork at sea.

The summer of 1998 continued with one-week voyages aboard *Taikoo* in June and *James Cook* in July. In both cases I was able to build on the strategies that had seemed to work aboard *Lord Rank*, coming away from both voyages with substantial bodies of useful data. Aboard *Taikoo* in June we were somewhat understaffed and I found myself in the multiple roles of first mate, researcher and part-time bosun. This last requirement, to fulfil some of the roles that a bosun would normally carry out involved me in some maintenance work and in a much more hands-on role in relation to organising and stowing equipment, handling the anchoring arrangements and so on. I was kept moderately busy helping to keep the boat running in that sense, but although I was only able to make around half the amount of recording of observation as had been possible on the previous voyage, I managed to complete eight interviews with trainees, some fairly extended. Being aboard a vessel that I was intimately familiar with helped, in that the extra duties simply needed to be conducted according to well rehearsed routines and established knowledge.

By the time I joined *James Cook* in July, the novelty of sailing as a researcher was beginning to fade slightly, and data collection started to seem like a job of work. The first day out was not very pleasant, with some swell giving the boat an uncomfortable motion. I was kept fairly busy most of the day because if I wasn't on watch, I was busy organising the dinner. That didn't leave a lot of space to do anything else really. A problem with the gas cooker occupied much energy, and I was very tired by the end of the day and went to bed quite early. Frustration is a word that appears a lot in my notes of the first few days of this voyage. On the one hand I was frustrated as a researcher by what felt like constant demands from the skipper, the other staff and the trainees, and on the other I was frustrated as a practitioner by the distraction of 'having to' keep trying to find time and space for the research work. Notwithstanding that, I managed to complete that voyage with a couple of hours worth of tapes in my hands. By this time I had established the routine of 'wearing' my tape recorder as a more or less permanent item. A new difficulty emerged when I found that carrying it about in my pocket could lead to forgetting that the tape runs out after a while. You think you are recording

when you are not, and I found myself with the first of several 'lost thoughts' when I discovered I had been happily talking into my microphone for ten minutes after the tape had ended. It was easy to get over-confident that the technology was working, and problems of this kind recurred from time to time.

One feature to be commented on from that voyage was the issue of vessel design not only as the context for the process of the voyage but also vessel design as a context for data gathering. Aboard *Lord Rank* I had discovered a strategic seat in the saloon from which I could see and hear quite a lot of what was going on in the cockpit, as well as watching any activity in the saloon and in the galley. The layout of *James Cook* offered similar scope, and in particular the location of the mates' cabins, in the middle of the boat gives access to aspects of the life of the vessel that is quite unlike the experience of most other vessels. The staff cabins are immediately adjacent to the trainees' accommodation. I found myself, in harbour on the evening of the third day, lying on my bunk, reading, talking into my tape recorder and listening to the trainees. 'Here I am in the centre of a boat in my cabin listening to and being aware of what is going on in a very different way from the Robert Clark ketch where you're right up in the stern and pretty detached from what is going on in the front of the boat' (Journal 17/7/98)

That was not only a very different context for the voyage process and for the relationship between staff and trainees but it's also a very different context for research. 'Here I am, able to pick up things, for example, there were two lads, I'm not sure who it was but one mentioning to another when they came down here: "You've left the lights on man", taking on or adopting a value that has been expressed a number of times which is about conserving energy and not using the ship's power supply unnecessarily and putting lights off which is something that has been mentioned on several occasions, mainly by Chris [the Skipper] but also by other staff as something that people have been forgetting to do' (Journal 17/7/98).

What these observations also prompted was some reflection on the extent to which significant parts of the experience for trainees may concern what goes on between them

as a group without adults present. It seemed possible that one of the issues was the trainees' age as a variable, and that particularly with younger groups (12 and 13 year olds) that independent life as a group of peers may well be quite an important part of the experience for them. A tentative hypothesis at that stage was that with older teenagers, where the difference between child and adult status is more ambiguous, the relationship with staff is different and is perhaps significant in a different way from the relationship with these younger trainees. It certainly seemed very clear that the character of the trainees as a group independent of their relationship with the staff might be of some significance.

It was difficult to know what if anything to do with these speculations and reflections. I spent some time thinking about whether or not it was possible to listen to the conversation or to find other ways of getting inside that dimension of the experience. 'One trainee had talked [in an interview] about being in the forepeak at night and particularly mentioned D talking all the time and keeping others awake. That is something that is evidently significant for them. However it's not particularly accessible for me either as staff or as researcher because it's very different from the kinds of interactions that are going on when staff are present either in the formal processes of running the boat and doing the work or in more informal settings' (Journal 17/7/98). This seemed significant as an example of the way new themes, questions and issues would bubble into consciousness from time to time. A lot of these were fairly micro-level matters, some of which became part of the eventual account, others of which, for example this very question of the independent group life of the trainees were either problematic to engage with, or were judged to fall outside the conceptualisation of the project.

The autumn of 1998 and spring of 1999 was another busy period in my day job. Preparations for the academic revalidation of the BA programme, on top of teaching duties, took up a great deal of energy. In my life as researcher I drew the main part of the organisations survey to a close - a few interviews were still being conducted up to June of 1999 - and started to develop analyses of material from the fieldwork voyages. I had

arranged to sail aboard *Sir Winston Churchill* in September, and had hoped to spend a couple of weeks aboard *Spirit of Fairbridge* earlier in the summer. At the same time I was negotiating the possibility of a transatlantic voyage aboard *John Laing* (one of the Ocean Youth Club's two Shipwright Class vessels, sister ship to *James Cook*) for the summer of 2000. This would have involved a two-to-three week period continuously at sea and was part of the 2000 Tall Ships' Race.

As things developed, Fairbridge were unable to accommodate me during the 1999 season, but did identify several possible opportunities for the following year. The 2000 Tall Ships' event would have taken up the best part of five weeks and in the autumn of 1999 I decided to withdraw from that, mainly on the grounds that it would be a relatively unproductive use of the time. At a point when I should really be focussing on completing analytic work and on writing up the project it seemed perverse to spend five or six weeks on additional fieldwork of unknown value. There was a clear sense by the end of 1999 that the fieldwork data was forming patterns of meaning and was coming to a conclusion. To draw in another voyage of a very different character from all the others was in one sense very attractive, but also quite clearly had the potential to cause some difficulty. Given my focus on the mainstream of sail training practice, with voyages of one or two weeks with several ports of call, the inclusion of a much longer trans-oceanic voyage might obscure or distract as much as it illuminated.

With the difficulty of getting aboard *Spirit of Fairbridge*, July and August 1999 were not scheduled for any fieldwork. At quite short notice the opportunity to sail *Alba Venturer* from Shetland to Denmark, as a replacement for another first mate who had had to withdraw, was offered. It appeared to be a useful research opportunity, particularly in that it was to involve a 3-4 day continuous sail across the North Sea as part of the 1999 Tall Ships' Race. There were a number of issues encountered which limited the extent to which I was able to collect useful data 'live' during the trip. Firstly the skipper expressed unwillingness for me to conduct interviews. He may, I saw with hindsight have thought I was talking about eavesdropping rather than interviewing but I strongly

felt at the time that he was opposed to recording interviews however that was understood.

The second difficulty was the old problem of working as first mate and collecting data. Notwithstanding very strong staffing, with three very experienced watch leaders, I still had to work shifts as the skipper's relief, having oversight of safety, navigation, race tactics and the overall running of the vessel. This proved pretty well incompatible with even quite modest record-keeping, even in the first 36 hours at sea when conditions were quite reasonable, and later when conditions were worse even doing my sailor's work was a severe challenge. At one o'clock on the Friday morning, our second day at sea, we were one of the first vessels to take advantage of a small favourable windshift and tack to a heading somewhat North of West. Coupled with a favourable tidal stream this put us up among the leaders in the race by Friday lunchtime and my focus shifted a little from sociology towards racing. By Friday evening the conditions had deteriorated badly with a gale from the Southeast and a very uncomfortable motion. I developed a severe case of seasickness (this was my first voyage of 1999) and was more or less out of circulation from Friday around midnight to Saturday afternoon. At this point I abandoned any serious attempt to record events in real time. I wrote up an account of the voyage over the days following my return home, but there was a real feeling that as fieldwork it had proved to be of much less value than anticipated.

Arriving aboard Sir Winston Churchill at Newcastle two weeks later, in September 1999, the overwhelming initial impressions were of the size of the ship, an order of magnitude larger than any of the other boats I had sailed aboard, and of the complexities of the social organisation. 'This is a very, very different sort of vessel from anything I have worked on before, a big ship. Generator running permanently with electricity freely available, lots of fresh water, hot water constantly, showers available, a very different set of arrangements from those I have seen before. The staff have met, I have not met everybody but have very briefly met the skipper who seems an amiable guy, late thirties, knows about my work and seems very happy with that, he says "no worries". Basically I

think I have got pretty much *carte blanche* to do what I need to do which is great' (Journal 6/9/1999).

The first really striking issue to come up was the wearing of uniform. This was a novel and initially rather uncomfortable feature for me. I had not worn any kind of formal uniform since I had left the Scouts at the age of seventeen or so. In the leisure yachting tradition dress is generally informal, varied and quite casual, sometimes quite deliberately eccentric. Here by contrast I had been instructed to bring with me at least one white shirt with provision for epaulettes, a pair of plain navy blue trousers and a navy blue 'NATO' style jumper with cloth patches on the shoulders and elbows, and again with provision for epaulettes. In one of the briefings the Captain had asked that the Watch Officers wear 'uniform' for the arrival of the trainees. The code was as, the Captain demonstrated, to put uniform on in the mornings but to change out of it into 'working' clothes again by mid morning. What I found interesting was that although I was very ambivalent about putting on uniform, once I had put it on I very quickly became less aware of the fact that I was wearing it. My most startling response was on seeing myself in the mirror after putting on my uniform shirt and epaulettes for the first time. I thought it looked really good on me!

After reaching Denmark I recorded some thoughts regarding the problems and possibilities of conducting fieldwork on this sort of vessel. 'In some respects it is just as difficult to do this work on this size of boat as on a smaller vessel. It is just as tiring being at sea, I am standing watches through the night, four hours on and eight hours off every night, doing relatively long passages of three or four days at sea, it is quite tiring. I had a sleep this afternoon having had to get up and stand a harbour watch at four this morning. I am quite tired. The complex routine and the imperative to fill the day with activity is a striking feature. They try to do all the same things on every voyage, with all the same competitions, so it is a lot less spontaneous. It does mean that even with the relative freedom you have as a Watch Officer, it is a continual problem just finding time, space and energy to do interviewing, even to find time to record observation' (Journal 11/9/99).

This voyage enabled me to rediscover an authentic feeling of anthropological strangeness. As an outsider not only to the organisation but also to the whole culture of this tradition of sail training I was continually finding my attention falling on the mundane and everyday, the unexamined understandings that made up everyday life. The kinds of naïve questions that were hard to think of and even harder to ask in a more familiar setting were, here, easy to recognise and to ask. This proved a very fruitful experience, allowing me to collect seven hours of tape recordings and two full notebooks. I had been able to cultivate positive relationships with several of the staff, both 'permanent crew' and volunteers, as well as with trainees, allowing the opportunity to generate a much richer swathe of data on STA and its practices than simply an account of this one voyage. Both Richard, the Engineer and Jane, the Bosun had followed STA careers starting as trainees and progressing through the volunteer hierarchy to achieve professional standing. In Jane's case she was able to give an insider's account of the changing attitudes to gender in the STA. She had sailed first in 1967 on the very first all girls' voyage and seen the changing attitudes to and treatment of women aboard from the inside.

Joining *Spirit of Fairbridge* at Greenock in June 2000, I had originally been given to understand that I was to sail as Second Mate, in view of my lack of knowledge of the boat and to allow more scope for my role as researcher. It was a surprise to be telephoned a few days before to ask if I would be happy to take the role of First Mate, because of some kind of crisis in the staffing arrangements. Like Nick Fleming's suggestion that I should be acting Skipper of *Taikoo* in 1997 this was an offer that was difficult to refuse. To do so might have prejudiced my relationship with the organisation, and I was now sufficiently confident that I could manage the competing demands of seamanship and fieldwork. It seemed reasonable to accept the offer, and to simply make the best of the opportunities that it offered. I had been aboard the boat a couple of times but never to sea. As it turned out this was an interesting and successful voyage from a research point of view. The Skipper was extremely helpful and despite the challenges of weather and an unfamiliar rig I was able to collect some useful data. The 'Story of J'

(Chapter 9) came from this voyage, the culture and practices in this setting were such as to make data collection very easy. Interviews were just another conversation with a staff member for many trainees, in a culture where talking about experiences as they were progressing was seen as normal and expected.

The problems of the participant-observer role were quite considerable, in this most extreme case of trying to be a researcher while also being a key member of staff. This was the shortest-staffed boat I had ever been on. While I was getting to grips with the sail handling and where everything is stowed, it was difficult to be attentive to the social life of the vessel. The practice of just putting on my tape recorder like a piece of clothing, so that I could stop and make a five-minute recording whenever I saw the need really paid off here. 'It does make a huge difference just to be able to make a note straight away rather than thinking the thing is in my cabin, I can't be bothered going down there, or it's disruptive to go down. I can just quickly speak. I have to say I would not have worn a tape recorder in last night's bad weather in this sort of boat, working on deck. That was something I could do on Churchill because you were just a bit more protected from bad weather. Certainly carrying it makes a big difference to the frequency and amount of record I am able to make' (Journal 2/6/2000).

The following month I joined *Spirit of Fairbridge* again, this time sailing from Oban southwards around Jura and returning to Oban five days later. A strong impression during that voyage was that what I was seeing and being told was confirmatory, they were things I had seen or heard before quite a number of times in the fieldwork. 'The general flavour of the data is consistent with the discoveries made the last time, gaff rig and the structured approach, degrees of preparation and personal commitment or investment in the trip as key factors' (Journal 11/7/2000). It was very clear that this was the right moment for the fieldwork to come to an end. Many temptations presented themselves, with the possibility of a voyage on the STA's newly commissioned 'authentic' square-rigger *Stavros S. Niarchos* to compare and contrast with the previous year's observations of life aboard *Sir Winston Churchill*, or a week with one organisation or another. In one sense it felt like unfinished business, to leave the field

with, potentially, so much more to be explored and uncovered. In another sense it felt like putting down a heavy load, to be able to say 'that's finished' and to move on to another stage. I felt strongly that in terms of the original conception and design I had collected more than enough material, that by this point much of what I saw and heard seemed to be confirming things seen already and concepts being formulated. In one sense I could say that I may have been becoming desensitised to new evidence, and it certainly seems that there might be some truth in that. More straightforwardly it was a case of having done what I had set out to, in terms of fieldwork, sailing on a range of different vessels with different kinds of trainees, generating a substantial body of interview and observation records. It was time to move on.

I had arranged to spend some time as first mate aboard *Alba Venturer* in August, about five weeks after the final voyage of the planned fieldwork. This was both a commitment to give some time as a volunteer to Ocean Youth Trust Scotland, and a conscious opportunity to re-engage with my own practice without, as I saw it, the divided attention of the practitioner researcher. I was returning to sail training as a practitioner. It was a curious experience. On the one hand I refocused on my craft as a youth worker and on my seamanship, finding to my chagrin that some of my technical skills had atrophied more than somewhat. Three seasons of fieldwork, with minimal attention to maintaining and developing my skills in sailor-work had left me feeling quite tentative about, for example, running a man overboard exercise. On the other hand it was like simultaneously arriving back home and having a holiday. Suddenly free from the tyrannical demands of the notebook and the tape recorder, I could take time to relax and simply enjoy being there, with those people.

In another sense it was impossible not to attend to the kinds of events and phenomena that had been preoccupations for so much of the time in the preceding voyages. The conduct of the research had changed not only my thinking about sail training and work with young people, but at a deeper level my own relationship to those things had been changed. I felt myself no longer 'merely' an actor in the setting, focussed on keeping the boat safe, the staff motivated and the trainees meaningfully occupied. My consciousness

of that particular world had been somehow expanded. I could not stop myself from writing some fieldnotes when some interesting events and exchanges pressed themselves on my consciousness. This was not simply the kind of reflection-in-action (Schon 1987) that professional educators are supposed to undertake but something deeper. Constructing a theory of sail training seemed at that point not to have only an intellectual but also an emotional, human meaning.

While the fieldwork went on it seemed like its own justification, that the point of the exercise was to be there and to systematically collect the best data I was capable of collecting. In the autumn of 2000 the project entered a new phase, as I began to complete the analysis and start writing the thesis. The final process of writing was in several respects like holding up a mirror to the fieldwork. In relation to the data and sense-making, it was in quite a straightforward way like creating a mirror image or picture of the realities I had investigated. In a more subtle sense the process of writing was often very much like the process of fieldwork, as an experience. There were optimistic moments as I set out on each chapter, with some hope and expectation of what it might look like in the end. Occasionally there was a feeling of elation as the sun rose over a new landscape and I surveyed my latest words with some sense of satisfaction. There were also some long dark stormy nights when I could wish myself to be anywhere or anybody else. The text which follows is that image.

Chapter 2: Research Design and Methodology

The original ambition in the early stages of the project was framed as a desire to ‘assess the impact’ of the experience of sail training on young people who participate. Practice experience amounting to around 18 voyages as a volunteer staff member on sail training vessels over several years prior to beginning the work had led me to form the view that ‘something significant’ was evident in most young people’s experience of sail training. The essence of the project was to try to uncover what that ‘something’ might be.

This chapter outlines research design options and the choices made. The emphasis is on establishing the strengths and the weaknesses of the selected approach. The research processes are described, problems discussed and lessons drawn from the conduct of the study. Finally the processes of data analysis and reporting are considered. Particular attention is given to the problems of establishing a valid account and analysis, through the establishment of methodological grounds for a truth-claim and the expression of those grounds in the handling of data and the production of an ethnographic text.

A Methodological Map

This study was driven principally by substantive questions about the nature and meaning of the phenomena under investigation. Methodological and epistemological questions arise from that starting point. It is important to distinguish this study from one which would have been undertaken using a theoretically driven rather than a substantively driven approach. Starting from the substantive questions about what sail training is, what it means and how claims about it may be interpreted, theoretical questions about the kinds of knowing that are possible, and the ways that knowledge may be created, are necessarily confronted. Such a confrontation need not however lead inevitably towards a particular methodological orthodoxy. I have sought instead to follow what Patton (1990: 39) describes as ‘a paradigm of choices’. Such an approach ‘rejects methodological orthodoxy in favour of *methodological appropriateness* as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality’ (*italics as original*). Such choices are made within the

boundaries of what is possible for an individual researcher, and are constrained by the nature of the topic under consideration, the researcher's prior experience, confidence and skills, the researcher's relationship to the field of enquiry, the purpose of the enquiry and by contextual factors such as the political/policy context and the availability of resources to sustain the enquiry.

Such an approach led in the direction not of a methodological stance in a narrowly orthodox sense, but toward the identification of a methodological 'space' that I inhabit as an investigator of sail training. One defining boundary of this space is a preoccupation with social justice. Griffiths (1998) offers three categories, into at least two or all three of which it is claimed 'most research for social justice would fall'. The research described here does not fall neatly into Griffiths' first category; it is not 'about' class race or gender. These are important as analytic concepts but the research is 'about' sail training, and the research therefore falls into Griffiths' second category, 'research with a framework that depended on the researcher's orientation to justice issues but that is "about" something else'. The third category relates to methodology and epistemology, as 'itself a reason for claiming it to be research for social justice' (Griffiths 1998, 26).

A concern with social justice and with power relations, particularly as mediated through social class and through gender, was one starting point for my own involvement in sail training, and consequently for this research. Research which uncovers unexamined beliefs and ideologies is, it is argued, desirable because of its potential to help people 'understand the reasons why they are exploited and the action that must be taken to produce a better world' (Travers 2001, 115). This may also be understood through the framework of 'educative research' (Gitlin, et al. 1993) or as 'critical educational science ... not research *on* or *about* education, it is research *in* and *for* education' (Carr and Kemmis 1986, 156) (emphasis as original). In such an analysis the logic of the project is that I, as a practitioner, should seek to uncover issues and meanings not simply as a step on the way to better technique or a codification of good practice, but as part of a process of dialogue. In this conception of research my role becomes that of an initiator of debate about the nature and meaning of sail training.

Alongside and related closely to this concern with social justice and with questions of class and gender is a concern that research should give 'voice' to the participants in the investigation. This concern is influenced by feminist researchers such as Stanley and Wise (1983), and by the movement towards participatory research, (McCulloch 1997; Reason P (Ed) 1994; Weiss 1986) and changes the conceptualisation of those the researcher interacts with in the course of her or his work from the status of subject or informant to that of collaborator or co-investigator. This was expressed mainly through a policy of systematic openness about my role as a researcher, in contrast with the more or less covert approach adopted, for example, in the 'Blue Watch' study (Gordon, et al. 1996). In that project the researcher collected data and formed judgements about participants in a sail training voyage without their knowledge or consent.

Thirdly, and moving as close as I feel comfortable to any kind of methodological orthodoxy there is the influence of a particular group of research traditions. This is as much about what kind of end product might be sought, and what models of research might be available, as it is about an intellectual conviction. It is an approach to the question: 'What kind of researcher do I want to be?' In my case the work of so-called symbolic interactionist writers such as Goffman (1968) and Whyte (1981) was exemplary of the kind of research output I aspired to create. Symbolic interactionism may be thought of as a methodological orthodoxy, but, according to Schwimmer (1990, 43) 'Goffman insisted that symbolic interactionism had never existed except in the view of outsiders who had imposed the label. Labels like symbolic interactionism are not part of intellectual history but of intellectual pigeonholing'. Without pigeonholing my own position I had been clear for some time that it was the potential of sociological ethnography to explore meaning and to develop an account of social acts and settings, that would be meaningful for the participants in that setting as well as for other researchers and academics, that attracted me.

Sociological ethnography is a well-established research tradition, and has drawn on a range of ideas and practices since its emergence in the 'Chicago School' in the first half of the 20th century (Deegan 2001). It has been strongly influenced by ethnomethodology,

concerned as it was with 'The analyzability of actions-in-context as a practical accomplishment' (Garfinkel 1967, 9). Silverman (1985) has described an 'ethnomethodological ethnography', characterised by the following features:

- It is related to the establishment of social order; how the participants in some event find its character and sustain it (or fail to) as a joint activity.
- It seeks to specify actors' models; what conceptual models and interpretive procedures allow people to behave in an acceptable way?
- Any moral stance is suspended; concentrating on 'recovering the situated rationality of events'.
- 'Anthropological strangeness' is sought; standing on the margins in order to understand how everyday events and understandings function.
- It aims to depict 'local stocks of knowledge'.

After Silverman (1985, 109)

The concepts of indexicality and of documentation (Garfinkel 1967) are central to such an approach. The notion of indexicality expresses the situated meaning of language and was used originally to analyse the extent to which communication relies on implicit shared understandings both about language itself and about the context of meanings and relationships. It is particularly relevant in this study where a key problem is to understand how naïve young participants make sense of what is for many a new and profoundly unfamiliar setting in terms of language, social behaviour and as a physical environment. In such a context not only words and ideas but also objects and spaces are 'indexed' to meanings that have to be learnt for participants to negotiate their situation. To successfully negotiate an encounter with previously unknown meaning-context is characterised by Garfinkel as to 'remedy the indexicality'. Documentation in Garfinkel's usage is a related concept, describing the process by which, it is claimed, actors in a social setting set about remedying the indexicalities. It is a process of collection of data about meanings (hence 'documentation'), and testing of those meanings, by participants in a situation, in order to establish a grasp of the particular meanings which are significant in the given context.

Silverman (2000) also links 'naturalism', associated with 'a reluctance to impose meaning' and a preference for fieldwork, with ethnomethodology in respect of concern with attention to detail and concern with 'talk-in-interaction' (Silverman 2000, 78). Benson (1983) suggests that a central implication of phenomenology as a theoretical foundation, providing ethnomethodology with its principal concerns, is to see social actions as mutually negotiated productions, as *work* done by the members of society. In the following chapters such a conceptualisation is, I hope, readily evident, having informed both the generation of data and of analytic categories.

Recent methodological debates are of interest in this context. The arguments over 'subjective' versus positivistic approaches have been prolonged and complex (Bryman 1984; Bryman 1988; Hammersley 1992; Schutz 1971) and have not, it seems, entirely ended. Bryman (1984; 1988) argues that the division between quantitative and qualitative research is one of method rather than of fundamentally different epistemologies, that it is the researcher's stance and the nature of the problem that drives decisions in this respect. Most recently the postmodern turn in social science has raised important questions for the descriptive researcher. Brewer (2000, 38-48) provides a succinct summary of the arguments, focusing on the crises of representation and legitimisation arising from postmodernist rejection of the meta-narrative of science. In this critique 'the realist ambition to "objective truth" is deconstructed to language games involving competing truth claims'. In an earlier article Brewer (1994) outlines a critique of ethnography in sociology, that ethnographic descriptions are unreliable; findings cannot be generalised; descriptions are theoretically naive and no different from those produced by ordinary people in everyday life. The problem of representation, according to Brewer, is that realist ethnographers are unreflexive and the strengths of the data tend to be exaggerated. The crisis of legitimisation follows from the anti-realist position, in that because (it is argued) there is no objective and knowable real world, there can be no criteria to judge or evaluate ethnographic data since they are based on some realist assumptions.

These arguments do represent a problem for ethnography. In locating a methodological

stance on this map it is impossible to ignore the criticisms arising from postmodernism. Brewer (2000) is helpful in this respect. The substance of postmodern critiques of ethnography can be acknowledged but rather than undermining the validity of the method, the critique has led to the emergence of post - postmodern ethnography. This has various versions, described as subtle realism, analytical realism and critical realism. The latter is linked in Brewer's account to structuration theory (Giddens 1984), as concerned with the dialectical relationship between social structure and individual agency. The postmodern critique is represented as imposing on ethnographers four obligations:

- To make apparent the assumptions and values that underlie the investigation.
- To identify its methodological basis
- To make explicit the theoretical issues which the research is designed to illuminate.
- To make explicit the ontological status that social structures are given.

Brewer (2000, 51)

The methodological space that this study inhabits is thus defined by concerns with structural inequalities and social justice, by a desire to 'stand alongside' the participants in the research settings and allow their voices to be heard, and by a complex of questions about the nature and status of ethnography as a method and a methodology. These conceptual boundaries impact directly on the processes by which data has been generated, its analysis and the creation of this text. The essential test of a study such as this is whether its claims to be telling some kind of truth can be shown to be justified. The fundamental significance of methodology as a preoccupation is the basis it offers for the substantiation and delimiting of truth-claims. The question of validity, and its basis in methodology is one to which I return later in this chapter.

Impact or meaning? – the research questions

The initial impulse for this research was curiosity about the consequence of participation. What 'impact' or effect if any did participation in a week or a fortnight's sail training have on a teenager? The belief was evidently widespread that the

experience was beneficial for individuals, providing opportunities for learning of kinds that were seen as valuable. A longitudinal or cross-sectional study (Cohen, et al. 2000, 174) was considered in the planning stage. The focus for such an approach would be to investigate current or previous participants' experiences during and after sail training voyages, in the hope of identifying the presence or absence of some effect or feature attributable to participation in sail training. Such a study would be attractive to the field as providing, it would be hoped, evidence to 'prove' the benefit or benefits of participation.

The decision to reject such an approach was based firstly on epistemological considerations. An impact study of some kind led inevitably in the direction of testing and measurement, and away from concern with meaning and purpose. The really important question had become that about the nature and significance of the value placed on sail training as an experience for young people. Secondly, the essential premise of such a study is flawed in quite a fundamental sense. To argue that it is possible to isolate the long or short-term effects of a brief experience, no matter how intense and significant it might seem at the time, is implausible. It is not necessary to dispute that there may be very valuable learning for individual participants. However to claim to be able to reliably distinguish the post-hoc 'impact' of one experience, in one week of a teenager's life, from other experiences is not logically justifiable. Thirdly there were practical considerations. A single researcher with limited time to commit to the project would be ill-advised to take on a more complex project than was absolutely necessary. The administration of even a small-scale cross-sectional study, contacting previous participants in parallel with study of current participation, or of a longitudinal study following up contacts from fieldwork would have been very time consuming and quite costly. The value of the data that might be generated in such an approach was judged not be proportionate to its cost in terms of time and effort.

The initial interest in notions of impact or effect was thus re-conceptualised in terms of the immediate experience of participation in sail training voyages. What sense do young people make of the experience at the time, rather than in terms of their future life

careers? Such an approach was both more realistic and practical, and crucially more likely to produce findings that were valid and meaningful. A focus on meaning, and on the relationship between claims on behalf of sail training and the experiences of participants emerged. The 'grand tour' research question (Creswell 1994, 70) can be framed as: *What is the nature and significance of sail training as practised in the UK at the beginning of the 21st century?* The following substantive research questions were identified as setting an appropriate framework and boundaries for the project:

1: What influences have shaped contemporary sail training?

Little has been expressed in a systematic way to answer the question of influences on contemporary sail training and their significance. Part of what must be considered under this rubric consists of mythology, fiction, poetry or legend focussed on the romance of seafaring and the island identity or the 'hearts of oak' history. Ideas about education, particularly non-formal education, specifically youth work, are also critical. Sail training can also be understood as one manifestation of the outdoor education movement which developed in Western countries during the twentieth century, and which incorporated the symbols and traditions of maritime heritage as a means to an end.

2: What purposes are expressed by sail training organisations and their stakeholders?

The essence of the overall research plan was to discover something about the extent to which the claimed benefits of sail training are in fact achieved. For the purposes of the current project therefore it was necessary to examine what purposes are expressed by sail training organisations, in terms of policy, by workers in the field in terms of practical purposes, and in terms of their expectations of benefit for young people in general, or for particular individual participants.

3: How may the range of differences and commonalities of approach be understood?

Differences of approach are readily evident in respect of the type of vessels used and the climate of operation apparent in the different organisations. For the purposes of this research it is the commonalities or differences of purpose which are expressed across the

field that are of greatest interest. It cannot be assumed that the preferred technology, so to speak, is necessarily an indicator of distinctive purposes in itself.

4: What expectations do participants have, and what influences these expectations?

Young people arrive aboard sail training vessels by a great diversity of routes.

Dimensions of difference including for example social class, gender, ethnicity and the degree of personal choice involved in the decision to participate need to be considered.

5: How is the experience (of participation) perceived and understood by participants?

In formulating the research design and methodology, a particular concern was to allow young people's voices to be clearly heard. Arrival aboard a sail training vessel offers many kinds of potentially novel experience in both the material circumstances of life and in the social domain. Attention to participants' experiences over the period of a voyage should focus on the ways sense is made of the material and social circumstances of the voyage, both in respect of individuals' accounts and of group or collective phenomena.

6: Are the benefits claimed or assumed for particular young people demonstrable?

The original starting point for the project was to discover the extent to which the experience (of participation) has an effect on the lives of participants. A more realistic and achievable goal is to consider whether young trainees experience their participation as a positive life event and as one which will have benefits for their future. A key focus is on the participants' recognition (or otherwise) of the learning which may have taken place during and as a component of their experience. This final question was the remnant, so to speak of the original curiosity about impact. It remains problematic and proved difficult, within the chosen framework, to answer in a wholly satisfactory way.

Research Design

This series of questions led to a conceptualisation of the project as having four principal elements. Firstly there was a contextual component addressing the first question. This could be approached in a number of ways, for example through an investigation of the

historical antecedents of sail training or through an oral history, many of the original instigators of modern sail training still being alive. The decision on which approach to use was based strongly on practical considerations; as context for the main focus of the study it was important to limit the time and effort expended. A combination of limited oral history and of documentary approaches was developed, using contemporary and historical sources including fiction to develop an account of the context of sail training in relation to maritime traditions, outdoor and adventure education.

Secondly there was an attempt to 'map' the territory of sail training at the end of the 20th century, in respect of organisation and approaches. It was known from the start that there were a variety of different organisations in the UK providing sail training, or using it as part of some wider enterprise. It was also known that there were wide differences in approach to different aspects of the work, the use of different sizes and types of vessels, funding arrangements and the use of volunteers and paid staff. To make some systematic analysis of this diversity was important for two main reasons. Firstly it was necessary to establish a conceptual framework in relation to approaches and purposes, arising from the second and third research questions. Secondly, organisational cases for detailed scrutiny needed to be located in the wider context of the sail training 'movement' as a whole. A summary of the data collected in the survey of sail training organisations is shown as Table 1.

The third major element was the development of detailed accounts of the three organisations identified for scrutiny. These three organisations were identified quite early on, on the basis of their significance in terms of size and typification of particular approaches, in two cases and on the basis of the ways sail training was used as part of a wider enterprise in the third. These choices were not in any sense a sample drawn from the mapping element of the study. They were opportunistic and pragmatic, using existing contacts and relationships, and considering geography in some respects. Most sail training organisations in the UK are based on the southern coasts between the Bristol Channel and the Wash, presenting obvious difficulties for a Scottish-based researcher.

Table 1: Sail Training Organisations Survey Data Summary (Autumn 1999)

Name of Organisation	Key characteristics	Data Recorded
Shaftesbury Homes & Arethusa	Runs children's homes for 'disadvantaged young people and those from difficult backgrounds'. Operates <i>Arethusa</i> a 72' ketch ^{Note 1} , mainly but not exclusively for 'in house' groups of trainees.	Public documentation, interviews with 2 staff.
The Captain Scott Society	Plans to build replica of Captain Scott's <i>Terra Nova</i> . Makes awards to support individuals undertaking expeditions considered 'in the spirit of adventure'.	Public documentation
The Cirdan Trust ^{Note 2}	Aim is 'to enable groups of young people to experience the excitement and adventure of sailing together in large craft. Operates <i>Queen Galadriel</i> , 100ft gaff ketch, <i>Xylonite</i> , 86ft sailing barge, <i>Duet</i> , 72ft gaff yawl	Public documentation, correspondence. Interview with 1 trustee
East Coast Sail Trust	Operates a restored Thames Sailing Barge <i>Thallata</i>	Public documentation, correspondence
Excelsior Trust	Operates a restored sailing trawler	Public Documentation
Fairbridge	Runs youth work and 'personal development' programmes for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Operates <i>Spirit of Fairbridge</i> , 90' LOA Gaff Schooner	Public documentation, internal documentation, correspondence, . Interviews with 3 full time sea staff and 2 shore based managers
The Falmouth Seagoing Training Ship	The Falmouth Seagoing Training Ship for Boys is a charitable trust. Operates a Gaff Schooner <i>TS Hardiesse</i>	Public documentation
The Faramir Trust	Aim is 'to help people be fulfilled by learning about teamwork and personal development through sailing'. Emphasis on 'disadvantaged' including people with disabilities and unemployed. Operates <i>Hartlepool Renaissance</i> 72ft ketch, <i>Black Diamond</i> 44 ft sloop, <i>Boromir</i> 34ft sloop	Public documentation, correspondence
Golden Vanity Trust	Provides 'sailing for children with special needs and sea-time for Duke of Edinburgh award candidates'. Operates <i>Golden Vanity</i> a restored 38' Edwardian Yacht	Public documentation
Gordonstoun School	Private school; one of several settings where ST activity is used as part of a wider programme. Operates <i>Ocean Spirit of Moray</i> 80' Ketch. ^{Note 3}	Public documentation, interviews with 2 staff
Island Cruising Club	Purpose is 'to teach the highest standard of sailing to all age groups from beginners to advanced level'. Operates <i>Hoshi</i> , a 72ft gaff rigged schooner built in 1909.	Public documentation
The Jubilee Sailing Trust	Operates <i>STS Lord Nelson</i> , a square rigged sailing ship 'specially designed and built to enable both physically disabled and able-bodied people to share the challenge of tall ship sailing'. A second ship was under construction in 1999.	Public documentation.

^{Note 1} *Arethusa* was no longer operating as a sail training vessel in Spring 2002

^{Note 2} The Cirdan Trust and the Faramir Trust merged their operations in 2000 as a cost-saving measure. Both names are retained but under a single organisational framework

^{Note 3} Vessel originally built for OYC, named *Team Spirit of Wight*.

Name of Organisation	Key characteristics	Data Recorded
London Sailing Project / The Rona Trust	Aim is 'to provide young men with the opportunity to acquire the best attributes of a seaman namely, a sense of responsibility, resourcefulness and teamwork'. Operates <i>Rona II</i> (Oyster 68 Ketch), <i>Donald Searle</i> , 75' Ketch, <i>Helen Mary R</i> 57' Ketch.	Public documentation, correspondence, Interviews with 2 staff
Mayflower ST Society	Aim is 'to provide young people from the south east with the opportunity to experience the theory and practice of seamanship. Operates <i>Kenya Jacaranda</i> a 77ft gaff ketch	Public documentation
The Meridian Trust Association	Aim is to work with 'youngsters who have got into trouble or are in danger of doing so' and; 'Those with behaviour problems or who have been sexually or physically abused'. Explicit emphasis on developing confidence and self esteem. Operates two 38' yachts, <i>Lively Lady</i> and <i>Richard Langhorn</i>	Public documentation, correspondence, interview with 1 staff
The Morning Star Trust	Run by Christians who believe 'that the sail training situation can be challenging and stimulating not only to a person's character development but also to their Christian faith'. Operates <i>Morning Star of Revelation</i> 62ft gaff ketch and <i>Eagles Wings</i> 27ft sloop	Public documentation, interviews with 2 staff
The Ocean Youth Trust (until Spring 1998 was Ocean Youth Club) ^{Note 4}	Aim is 'to provide adventurous sailing opportunities for around 4,000 young people each year, encouraging the development of personal and social skills in a unique and enjoyable environment'. Operates <i>Lord Rank</i> 70ft ketch, <i>James Cook</i> , <i>John Laing</i> , <i>Taikoo</i> and <i>Spirit of Boadicea</i> 72ft ketches, <i>Greater Manchester Challenge</i> 70ft gaff ketch	Public documentation, correspondence, internal documentation. Interviews with >15 staff, 4 board members
The Sail Training Association	Aims to 'offer young people the excitement and challenge of sailing up to 1,000 miles and visiting foreign ports during each voyage on a large ocean going tall ship. Operates two large topsail schooners <i>Sir Winston Churchill</i> and <i>Malcolm Miller</i> ^{Note 5}	Public documentation, correspondence, internal documentation, interviews with >12 staff, 5 board members
Scouts Offshore	Aim is 'to offer an introduction to the excitement and adventure of offshore sailing to young people, teach the skills of seamanship and create opportunities for personal development'. Operates <i>Ocean Scout</i> and <i>Offshore Scout</i> both 15 metre ketches and <i>Rhombus</i> 12 metre sloop	Public documentation, correspondence, interviews with 3 staff
Sea Cadet Corps	Aim is 'to offer young people a sense of pride and a sense of values based on the traditions and standards of the Royal Navy, without being a pre-service organisation'. Operates <i>TS Royalist</i> 100ft brig, <i>TS Appleby</i> and <i>TS Airmouth</i> 75ft power vessels <i>TS Leopold Muller</i> 34ft Sloop	Public documentation, correspondence, interview with 1 staff
The Swan Trust	The Shetland Isles based trust was set up to restore and operate a wooden fishing vessel as a sail training vessel. Operates <i>Swan</i> , a restored sailing trawler.	Public documentation, correspondence
21 Organisations included in survey; Approximately 45 interviews ^{Note 6} conducted with informants from 11 organisations. Selection of organisations for different levels of scrutiny combined purposive sampling across the range of different sizes and kinds of organisation and an opportunistic approach.		

^{Note 4} In September 2000 Ocean Youth Trust went into voluntary administration. Five regionally based trusts were set up and took over the ownership and operation of the most modern vessels; the national organisation still exists as a dormant trust but no longer operates any vessel or employs any staff.

^{Note 5} By Spring of 2002 both these vessels had been replaced with newly built vessels *Stavros S. Niarchos* and *Prince William* (see Chapter 5).

^{Note 6} The number is described as an approximation because of the ambiguous status of some encounters. Conversations and interviews are in this context overlapping concepts.

The geographical concentration of organisations in the Portsmouth area facilitated site visits and made the choice of the Ocean Youth Club and the Sail Training Association as two of the main cases practical as well as justifiable on grounds of their distinctive histories and practices. The third organisation selected, Fairbridge, is based partly in Edinburgh and the selection was based partly on accessibility but also on the exemplification of specific features in terms of the application of a welfare or 'rescuing' model in Smith's (1988) sense, and of the use of a traditionally-rigged vessel. An important element of these accounts was the drawing out of the different organisations' claims and understandings of the benefits of participation in their particular programmes and voyages.

The final and most important element was the fieldwork, at sea on sail training voyages. Eleven voyages were undertaken, varying from a weekend to a fortnight in duration, aboard six different vessels. Some of these voyages were undertaken as 'legal' first mate, when a trainee first mate was aboard under assessment. This gave the opportunity to focus on the research activity, talk to trainees and observe work and interaction without for the most part having to be 'distracted' from that by the imperatives of navigation, safety or seamanship.

At the opposite end of the spectrum were two voyages undertaken with short-handed staff groups where I was not only fully occupied as first mate but was also carrying additional duties. Strikingly there is little evidence of much correlation between these levels of what might be called practice demand and the volume or utility of the data generated during the different voyages. A summary of the voyages undertaken and the data recorded is shown in Table 2; maps illustrating the voyages are also included, as Appendix 1.

Table 2: Case-Study Voyages - Summary Data

Dates & Vessel	Staff & Trainees	Voyage Details	Data Recorded
15-21 July 1996 <i>Taikoo</i> (72' Ketch, Ocean Youth Club)	Full-time skipper 5 volunteer staff. 12 trainees aged 15-21 (8male, 4female)	Ullapool, Tarbert, Portree, Kyle of Lochalsh, Loch Spelve, Oban. 250 miles. Weather: mainly fine, light / moderate winds	2 trainees interviewed 3 instances of recorded observation
22-28 July 1996 <i>Taikoo</i> ^{Note 1}	Paid 'relief skipper' 4 volunteer staff. 12 trainees aged 14-18 (5 m, 7 f)	Oban, Tobermory, Barra, Coll, Oban. 255 miles. Weather: mainly fine, moderate / fresh winds.	3 instances of recorded observation
13-19 April 1998 <i>Lord Rank</i> (68' Ketch, Ocean Youth Club)	Paid 'relief skipper' 5 volunteer staff (1 st Mate under assessment) 11 trainees aged 12-14 (9m, 2f), 1 trainee aged 17(m)	Bangor NI, Campbeltown, Tarbert, Inverkip, Millport, Bangor. 275 miles. Weather: mainly fine but cold, moderate / fresh winds.	25 instances of recorded observation 9 trainees interviewed (2 single, 7 serial interviews)
1-7 June 1998 <i>Taikoo</i>	Volunteer 'relief skipper' 3 volunteer staff, 11 trainees aged 15-17 (5m, 6f)	Oban, Barra, Lochmaddy, Harris, Portree, Plockton, Kyle of Lochalsh. 220 miles. Weather: light winds, persistent rain.	12 instances of recorded observation 8 trainees interviewed (6 single, 2 serial interviews)
14-19 July 1998 <i>James Cook</i> (70' Ketch, Ocean Youth Club)	Full-time skipper 4 volunteer staff. 2 supernumerary adults, 8 trainees aged 12-14 (8m, 2f)	N Shields, Amble, Eyemouth, Montrose, Stonehaven, Aberdeen. 195 miles. Weather: mainly fair, moderate / fresh winds.	25 instances of recorded observation 8 trainees interviewed (5 single, 3 serial interviews)
21-25 September 1998 <i>Taikoo</i>	Paid 'relief skipper' 4 volunteer staff (1 st Mate under assessment) 5 trainees aged 13-16 (4m, 1f), 4 adult 'beprienders'	Oban, Crinan Canal, Tarbert, Ardrossan. 125 miles. Weather: mainly fair, moderate winds.	16 instances of recorded observation 1 trainee interviewed (serial interview)
25-27 September 1998 <i>Taikoo</i>	Paid 'relief skipper' 3 volunteer staff 9 trainees aged 13-16 (1m, 8f), 2 youth workers	Ardrossan, Kyles of Bute, Millport, Ardrossan. 60 miles. Weather: fair, fresh winds.	10 instances of recorded observation No interviews
11-20 August 1999 <i>Alba Venturer</i> (1999 Tall Ships Race)	Full-time skipper 5 volunteer staff. 12 trainees aged 18-24 (7m, 5f)	Lerwick, Thisted, Ålborg. 570 miles. Weather generally poor or bad with 2 days of strong gales	14 instances of recorded observation No interviews
6-18 September 1999 <i>Sir Winston Churchill</i>	Full time staff of 5, 11 volunteer staff, 39 trainees aged 16-25 (21m, 18f)	Newcastle, Esbjerg, Whitby, Hull. 933 miles. Weather poor at first with 2 days of gales, later good with lighter winds	44 instances of recorded observation 15 trainees interviewed (12 single, 3 serial interviews)
31 May – 5 June 2000 <i>Spirit of Fairbridge</i>	Full time skipper & bosun, 1 volunteer staff (KMcC), 9 trainees aged 16-25 (7m, 2f)	Greenock, Campbeltown, Islay, Seil Sound, Oban. 195 miles. Weather: poor at first then fine, 1 day gale then moderate / fresh winds.	30 instances of recorded observation 3 trainees interviewed (all single interviews)
8-12 July 2000 <i>Spirit of Fairbridge</i>	Full time skipper, 1 st mate and bosun, 1 volunteer staff (KMcC), 5 trainees, 2 adult volunteers (all m)	Oban, Islay, Loch Melfort, Oban, 135 miles. Weather: mainly fair, moderate / strong winds.	19 instances of recorded observation 2 trainees interviewed (single interviews)
21-25 August 2000 <i>Alba Venturer</i> ^{Note 2}	Full-time skipper 5 volunteer staff. 10 trainees aged 18-24 (7m, 3f) – Scout Group, 2 adult leaders (both m)	Oban, Tobermory, Barra, Monach Isles, Canna, Oban, 290 miles. Weather: mainly fair, moderate / strong winds.	4 instances of recorded observation No interviews.

^{Note 1} This and the previous voyage were undertaken with the intention of investigating possible approaches to data collection. The data generated was treated as 'meta-data', that is data about the research process, and was not included in the main analysis.

^{Note 2} This voyage was not undertaken with the intention of collecting further data. It is however referred to in the text and is therefore considered as part of the fieldwork.

These four main elements were interwoven in quite a complex pattern, the first element running right through the duration of the project up to and including the writing of the thesis. The second and third elements were quite closely linked in practice, through the parallel pursuit of informants with contemporary and historical knowledge of the field. Telephone interviews were conducted with a number of individuals from a range of organisations, and in many cases those individuals were able to provide both contemporary and historical perspectives. The surveying of the field as a whole continued throughout the duration of the project up to the summer of 2000. One reason for this extended timescale was the fluidity of the situation; during the period of the study there were several more or less dramatic changes in the landscape of UK sail training including the voluntary winding-up of one of the largest organisations, the acquisition of new vessels by several organisations and the merger of two well established projects. The main fieldwork at sea took place over three 'seasons' from 1998 to 2000, with two voyages also undertaken in 1996 as preliminary fieldwork, and some opportunistic data collection carried out in 2001 during two voyages undertaken with research not primarily in mind.

Ethical issues were considered particularly in relation to the principles of informed consent and commitment to participants in the research processes as actors rather than subjects. All interviews with practitioners and policy makers were prefaced with a brief explanation of the broad purposes of the research and an indication that interviews might be quoted unless informants requested otherwise in relation to all or part of an interview. No such restrictions were imposed by any of these interviewees. In relation to the fieldwork all the organisations whose vessels I sailed aboard had agreed to the process and general approach, and I had undertaken firstly to seek the specific co-operation and consent of each individual skipper for each voyage. Skippers or Masters are formally *in loco parentis* in relation to younger trainees and able to give reasonable consent. More importantly I made my role as a researcher known to trainees collectively and individually at all times; explicit consent was always sought to record interviews. This aspect proved relatively unproblematic, with most skippers, staff and trainees willing or



indeed eager to cooperate.

Only one specific difficulty was encountered when a skipper opposed my conducting interviews. This arose partly from some hostility on his part to the research approach, which he saw as intrusive, and partly from a mishandling on my part of the negotiation of an access agreement. This was one of the later voyages, with a familiar organisation but in an unfamiliar (new) vessel with a skipper I had not met before. On reflection I was both casual and over confident of a positive response in my explanation to the skipper, and his consent to conduct interviews was not forthcoming. Data collection on that voyage was therefore confined to observation.

Reflexivity and the Practitioner-Researcher Role

It would be hard to explain my interest in sail training without some personal and family history. Beside my front door at home hangs a photographic print of a small 19th Century sailing yacht, which my grandfather and his brother owned from 1899 to about 1929, lying on the sands near Crosby on Merseyside. The print was given to me by my late uncle shortly after the death of my father, who is thought to be the figure sitting on the boat's furlled mainsail. According to my uncle the image dates from the middle 1920s, when my father would have been about 9 or 10 years old. Although this family history of recreational sailing lay dormant in my own parents' lives, an awareness of the sea and interest in the maritime was never far from the surface of my consciousness as a boy.

I also have a photograph of myself as a rather diffident 12-year-old at my first Scout camp, at the tiller of a sixteen foot dinghy. The Scouts formed an essential element of my own education and development as a teenager, the outdoor and adventurous activities provided me with an important set of opportunities to develop confidence in myself and trust in my peers. Despite the fact that I was a member of a Sea Scout troop, sailing played a relatively small part in all of this. Nevertheless these experiences seem to me to have had a powerful impact on my adolescent development, and my own

interest in a better understanding of the ways such experiences contribute to young people's lives is clearly rooted in my own life history.

At about the age of 14 my own focus began to shift from the sea to the mountains, and the main focus of my personal outdoor and adventurous activities became mountaineering and rock climbing. These activities formed a major preoccupation for the next 15 years, and it was only past the age of 30 that I found myself drawn back towards my earlier interest. This was initially simply an adventure, a recreation for its own sake reintroduced into my life through sailing holidays with a group of friends. Then in 1989 I took my two sons to the Scottish Boat Show at Largs, where we fell into conversation with George Rich, then the Scottish area manager for the Ocean Youth Club, one of the best-known UK sail training organisations. At the time I knew only a very little about the organisation, having heard a little of its development in the early 1970s, and latterly having read some descriptions of its work in the yachting press. The initial outcome of the conversation was my recruitment by the spring of 1990 into the Ocean Youth Club as a volunteer member of staff. From that point I made regular voyages as a mate or watch leader and undertook further training both in seamanship and in the particular approaches to work with young people which characterise sail training. It was involvement in this work that led very directly to the initial steps in the research process reported here.

I had been professionally involved in working with young people since my very early twenties, qualifying as a Youth and Community Worker in 1973. A consistent thread of interest in outdoor activity formed an element of my professional practice; for example in my first full-time post I regularly took groups for camping weekends, and in the late 1970s I worked closely with colleagues from the then Lothian Region Education Department's Outdoor Education organisation for a time, both to run in-service training and in work with climbing and mountaineering youth activity groups. From these origins a strong interest in understanding the significance of educational work with young people in non-school settings had emerged. The word significance is chosen here to indicate concern both with the social meaning or purpose of different types of work

and with the benefits or effects of participation. In a very real sense therefore my undertaking this work was the synthesis of these different strands of my own experiences as a youth worker, as occasional outdoor instructor or educator, as sail training practitioner and finally as a researcher. This last strand completes the account of my journey to the starting point of this research. Moving from the field to an academic post in 1992 I began to develop a long standing practitioner's interest in the evaluation of youth work, as an important focus for research activity. For a fuller account see McCulloch (1995) and McCulloch and Tett (1996).

The point of this personal narrative is to establish the importance, in this study, of reflexivity. My own involvement as a researcher, or 'the social process of engagement in the field' (Ball 1993) is inextricably bound up with both my history of involvement with the field prior to as well as during the research, and more broadly with my personal history. In a parallel with Denzin's critique of Garfinkel's famous account of the transsexual Agnes, that: 'The story of Agnes becomes the story of how Garfinkel created Agnes through his interactions with her.' (Denzin 1991, 280), this text becomes in some measure the story of how my own involvement with the field created this account.

This prior entry to the field was a necessary precondition for the research, in that without professional credibility as a practitioner in sail training it would have been much more difficult to gain entry or access to many of the settings involved. I am too old to be credible in the role of trainee, and berths for supernumerary adults are difficult to find on most sail training vessels. The opposite side of this particular coin is the problem or risk of 'going native'. As Delamont (1992) puts it, this involves losing, as a researcher my twin perspectives of my 'own' culture and my 'research outlook'. As a member of the culture of sail training it was continuously problematic to maintain that outlook, particularly but not only during voyages where some of the relationships with colleagues were long standing and in a few cases quite close.

Pollner and Emerson offer arguments for an ethnography informed by ethnomethodology, with its emphasis on breaking the 'unwitting communion' (Pollner

and Emerson 2001, 124) with the subjects, and the achievement of analytic distance. In this analysis reflexivity is less a practice than a continual struggle. The tension to be managed is that between extreme immersion and hyper-reflexivity. In the former the 'unmodulated pursuit of presence precludes any re-presentation which transforms the lived order into concepts and categories accountable within the sociological community'. In the latter, ethnomethodological detachment may lead to a disintegrative 'ceaselessly reflexive preoccupation with the practices of the researcher' (Pollner and Emerson 2001, 131). The management of this tension has been a constant theme throughout the project, from beginning the fieldwork to writing the thesis. I have followed Ball's injunction (Ball 1993, 46) providing the 'research biography' incorporated in this and, mainly, in the preceding Chapter recounting the 'processes, problems, choices and errors' of the fieldwork. This account of the research activity has an important function in illuminating the practicalities of the process as well as having a theoretical importance in relation to reflexivity.

Ball's analysis of the relationship between the 'social and technical trajectories of fieldwork' which he describes as connected dialectically (Ball 1993, 33) has been particularly helpful. Reflexivity in this analysis is the conscious linking of, and interaction between, the social processes of engagement in the field and the techniques through which data is generated. In this model as described, a distinct boundary is drawn around the ethnographic research process, defined temporally by 'entry' and 'disengagement' or 'leaving the field' (Delamont 1992, 139). In my case as a practitioner these boundaries were and remain much more ambiguous than they would be for an authentically naïve researcher. A conscious effort on my part was required in order to 'become' a researcher on each occasion, the first two fieldwork voyages undertaken focussed entirely on this kind of meta-research task, of identifying the kind of dispositions or ways of being that would support research as well as experimenting with technique in relation to recording, observing and interviewing.

Ball's model suggests attention to entry, to social relations in the field and to naturalistic sampling, the last categorised by places, persons and times. Reflexivity in this model is

the conscious negotiation of the connections between for example negotiating access in a formal technical sense, and establishing social relations and rapport with informants. As the process proceeds a range of different issues become salient, for example in the identification and cultivation of key informants (part of the social dimension) and the relationship of that process to the technical question of triangulation. Reflexivity is also an issue in the analytic processes, in that all the stages from fieldwork 'in the moment' to the creation of a finished text offer opportunities for prejudices and bias to exert their influence. Procedurally this was addressed by repeated scrutiny of original notes and recordings, with questions about what else might have been happening at a given moment, and about what different meanings the data might contain or be ascribed, in the forefront of consciousness. At a theoretical level the arguments already adduced support the view that bias and prejudice cannot be altogether eliminated procedurally, but must be owned and acknowledged.

The essence of this and of reflexivity as a theme in this study is less in the particular framework of ideas that are used to explain it, and more in the conscious nature of the process. It is being aware of myself as a person, as a practitioner and as a researcher and by considering the relationship of these multiple selves to one another and to the research process. I have freely acknowledged my own *a priori* disposition toward sail training as a worthwhile experience for many young participants. Alongside that I have sought to create a framework of ideas and practices, as a researcher, which have allowed me to subject these phenomena and beliefs to critical scrutiny. While rigour and system can and does help to justify a particular version of the world, the validity of any account ultimately rests on the truthfulness or integrity of the researcher.

Generating Data

The project takes the form of a series of case studies. Hakim (1987, 61) observes that 'case studies are probably the most flexible of all research designs', and this project both demonstrates and takes advantage of that flexibility. Cases are identified at two distinct levels. Firstly the organisational level is considered. There were about 25 separate

organisations providing sail training in the UK in 1999, and three organisations were the subject of detailed study. Secondly case studies of specific voyages were developed. The particular voyage or voyages experienced form the essential framework within which individuals and groups have their experiences; the voyage is therefore the fundamental unit of analysis. In addition to these there are a small number of individual participants, elements of whose experiences are discussed. These within-case cases are not presented as case studies but are, in several instances rather more than illustrative data extracts.

Three main techniques were used in the study. A range of documents were considered at various stages, both in relation to the broad context and the specific focus on sail training organisations. Most of the UK sail training organisations provided some documentation in relation to their histories, purposes and activities. This was used as the basis for the mapping of the field and for the more detailed studies of Ocean Youth Club, the Sail Training Association and of Fairbridge. Alongside this extensive use was made of telephone interviewing and a smaller number of semi-structured interviews conducted in person. There seems to be surprisingly little written about the use of the telephone in research despite its ubiquity in modern life and the extent to which, anecdotal evidence suggests, it is used as a research tool. Frey (1989) provides a framework for the use of the telephone in structured survey work, focussing mainly on its applications in market research and opinion surveying. The use of the telephone for more exploratory purposes is considered by Dicker and Gilbert (1988) and by Miller (1994). The recommendations of these commentators focussed mainly on planning and preparation, and were helpful in preparing an interview framework.

Interviews with practitioners and policy-makers in sail training involved a much wider range of styles, problems and approaches than might be expected. Some of these interviews were with peers or colleagues; these informants were people I had sailed with on one or several occasions and these interviews presented a particular difficulty in setting aside shared understandings and assumptions. On the other hand interviews with figures such as (for example) Rev. Chris Courtauld, co-founder of Ocean Youth Club, or Sir Robin Knox-Johnston the President of the Sail Training Association and a legendary

figure in sailing circles presented quite a different kind of problem. With a number of these 'elite' interviewees I found myself significantly inhibited by my authentic respect for these individuals and their achievements. The kinds of challenges that were relatively easy to put to informants with whom I felt more at ease were much more of an emotional effort to make.

The documents, letters and interview transcripts were analysed using a framework derived from the first three research questions. The three main themes of origins, purposes and characteristics formed the basis for an initial categorisation of the material, which could then be analysed at a more detailed level. In this more detailed analysis categories were generated, as Dey (1993) advocates, by inference from the data, from previous knowledge and from theoretical and policy issues. This analysis formed the basis for a conceptualisation of sail training as consisting of distinguishable 'traditions' with characteristic origins, values and purposes as well as preferences for particular types of vessel. This framework is explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

The third technique, and that which occupied the greater part of the study, was fieldwork at sea. This involved a combination of participant observation and interviewing, taking place over the eleven voyages mentioned earlier. As the central element of the study this took up large resources of time, attention and energy. It presented a range of particular problems of technical, conceptual and practical kinds, and was a genuine test of stamina and commitment. To deal with this last, first, it should be said that sailing in northern European waters is physically and technically demanding. Weather is extremely variable even in summer, and the demands of navigation in tidal waters with many hazards and busy with shipping of all types are considerable. Attending to the wants and well being of young trainees and the achievement of whatever particular objectives may be implied or specified for a particular voyage leave relatively little time and energy for observing, interviewing and recording as discrete activities. Many of my tape-recorded notes, often made while lying in my bunk after a period of duty, are testament to these demands.

At the preliminary stage of fieldwork it became clear that the simple reporter's notebook was not an ideal tool for recording data. Using a notebook on deck in any conditions where even moderate spray was coming aboard proved quite difficult. One such notebook, fortunately with only a dozen or so pages of potentially important and useful notes, was rendered useless by being in the pocket of my waterproof jacket in rough conditions and being soaked in sea water. I became increasingly reliant on a tape recorder, which by the third fieldwork voyage I had taken to 'wearing' in a small waterproof belt pouch, under my jacket with a microphone on my collar. This allowed me to record interviews and observations with immediacy and relative ease, even when I was 'on duty' on deck and would have been unable to take time to go below and write notes. Some notes were also written up during voyages and these proved useful as supplementing tape recordings. A research journal was kept using both written and 'dictated' notes.

The timescale of data collection in each voyage was an important consideration on both substantive and theoretical grounds. From a theoretical perspective for example Maynard (1991) makes the point that temporality is central both to the operation of social rules but also to their learning. Through interactions in a social setting individuals are seen as acquiring, over time, the knowledges they require in order to operate as 'members' of those situations. In the particular context of the study it was evident both from my own prior observations and from the perspectives of organisations and practitioners that the duration of voyages and the view that important features were associated with participants engagement over time. Attention was therefore directed toward such issues and the 'time stamp' of all observation records and interviews was recorded with particular care.

The approach to observation was based on Whyte's (1984) recommendation of a focus on structure and leadership, on spatial relations, verbal content, and on work and status. This concentrated attention on action and on exchanges between staff and trainees, staff and staff, trainees and trainees in respect of authority and instruction, on movement and location within the boat and on the various kinds of 'work' being undertaken. In relation

to verbal content I began to develop a set of perceptual orientations that focussed on what was being said, how it was being said by whom and to what audience(s). This orientation was different from my former stance as a participant and practitioner. The best description I can offer of this shift in the focus of my attention is from a concern with action and my own conduct as a staff member, to a concern more with meaning and with uncovering my own and others' assumptions and beliefs about situations and how these were negotiated and expressed.

Three main strategies for observation were developed, beginning with 'tracking' or shadowing individuals, either trainees or members of staff. In some respects the fundamental unit of data was this record of an individual participant's actions and interactions. The advantage of this approach was the depth and richness of data that could be developed over a relatively short period. The concomitant weakness was that by attending to an individual I could find myself failing to attend to events or exchanges that might prove significant in relation to the voyage, due to their being out of focus and outside this frame of attention. The second and third strategies arose both in response to this limitation and in their own right. Right from the start it seemed important to focus attention on, firstly, particular spaces, and secondly on events or time periods. The second strategy was therefore to observe and record behaviour, talk and movement in particular spaces; for example to watch an area of the boat and record who was present, what they were doing, who entered and left, and what conversations took place. While lacking the detailed focus of individual observation this approach produced data on patterns of movement, for example, and on the nature of exchanges between staff and trainees that were less accessible through individual observations. Thirdly observations were recorded in the frame of particular events or time periods, such as 'leaving harbour', 'dinner time' or 'sail-setting'. This third frame was derived directly from practitioners' accounts of significant events. Peer judgements about the competence of a staff member are most often framed in terms of his or her approach to these events or time periods, and it was this ascription of significance that suggested the possibility of such an approach.

Interviewing trainees was in the end a somewhat less significant part of the fieldwork than had been envisaged at first. The initial aspiration had been to conduct at least one short interview with at least half the trainees on each voyage, and to interview at least three trainees per voyage at two or more points during their experience. These proved to be unrealistic targets, particularly in respect of multiple interviews. In the event 46 trainees were interviewed, 16 of these on more than one occasion. This represents something less than half (41%) of all the trainees encountered in the fieldwork having been interviewed in some sense. These interviews were not evenly distributed across all the voyages, with a higher proportion of trainees being interviewed on longer voyages for example and none being interviewed at all on a weekend voyage. The interviews varied in length from two or three minutes in some cases to twenty minutes. These variations were a function both of the context, in relation to the opportunities to conduct interviews, and of the articulacy of the trainees². The interviews were structured around my interest in the trainees' interpretations of the situation and experience. In interviews conducted in the first two days trainees were asked particularly to reflect on what they had been expecting before they came, and how their early impressions of the experience were developing. Interviews conducted later in a voyage were focussed more on the immediate experience they were having, what they thought it meant, what they thought they were learning, and how it compared with school or other situations they were familiar with.

These interviews with trainees for the most part used a straightforward semi-structured interviewing approach. In this approach, while there is a clear agenda or list of issues to be explored on the interviewer's side, there is flexibility in terms of the order, and 'to let the interviewee develop ideas and speak more widely' (Denscombe 1998, 113). In some cases it was clear that my questions and expectations of a conversation were so

² Interviews were as subject as anything else to practical maritime imperatives. One particular interview was just reaching some very interesting issues (around the trainee's view of his experience as the only black person aboard) when interrupted by the immediate necessity to move the boat to another berth to make room for another vessel. No opportunity arose to pick up the threads of that particular conversation.

disconnected from a trainee's that a radically unstructured form of interviewing was attempted. This is much more like a 'natural' conversation and relies on a much more spontaneous approach. Bar-On describes such interviewing, conveying a powerful sense of uncertainty but notwithstanding that, he says that 'when I was there in front of him, I knew exactly what I wanted to ask, how to relate to him, and what to expect from the encounter' (Bar-On 1991, 325). My own experience of attempting to interview teenagers was sometimes a good deal less illuminating. The best that could be achieved in several cases was to have several attempts at conversation over several days that would culminate in something that could be described as an interview. The preliminary conversations with a number of trainees were deliberately and explicitly not tape – recorded, although notes were made post-hoc. There is little difference in the kinds of data emerging from these fragmented or 'serial' interviews and from 'complete' or self contained interviews. The latter did however generally provide a greater volume of material. Some sample data is included as Appendix 2.

Analysing Data

All the tape recorded notes and interviews, and all the written notes from each voyage were transcribed and developed into full accounts of the voyage as soon as feasible after the voyage. The intervention of other demands meant that completing this process could take anything from one month at minimum to more than six months in one case. Priority was given to carrying out at least a preliminary review of tapes and notes from each voyage before the next episode of fieldwork, so that any emergent themes or technical learning could be carried into the next fieldwork encounters. The study as a whole generated in the region of 140,000 words of interview transcripts and observation records, as raw data before being 'developed'.

Several software packages were used developmentally and experimentally in the management and analysis of this data. The intention was to discover something about the advantages and limitations of different types of software and some notes on this exploration are given in Appendix 4. The main analysis of the fieldwork data was

conducted using NUDIST software to manage the data and the coding framework. The advantages of this software are essentially that it simplifies access to the data on the one hand, making it relatively easy to retrieve, for example, notes of events at particular stages of multiple voyages, or all the interviews with boys under 15 years of age, for example. The second major advantage is in the way coding of data can be handled. The structure of relationships between analytic categories can be explored and visualised easily, and the relationships between categories can be revised and refined through many iterations. In this project there were at one stage over 90 identified first-order categories, which had been reduced by the close of the analytic work by about one third. Appendix 3 presents the main coding frameworks in their final, developed forms.

The major potential disadvantage of NUDIST or any other qualitative analysis system is the potential it exhibits to drive the analysis methodologically, in directions that are of the software designers' making rather than the researcher's choosing. NUDIST is well known as associated with 'grounded theory' (Dey 1999; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1998), and is designed to be used in accordance with the precepts of this approach, with an emphasis on the extensive generation of analytic memos and of coding the data 'to saturation'. The difficulties that this presented for me were of two kinds, arising from aspects of my own methodological stance. Firstly the idea that theory could emerge from my data through a process which would in and of itself give it legitimacy as theory seemed flawed.

Since the data was *created* by my engagement in the fieldwork, it is the processes at that stage rather than the extent of saturation of my analytic coding which provide the main basis and limits for the legitimacy of my findings. Secondly, a purist grounded theory approach seemed to fail to value the prior conceptions, values and understandings that I as an investigator brought to the problem. These all contribute to the process and its outcomes, and it seems more helpful to think of substantive theory arising dialectically, in analysis but also from the interplay between prior conceptions, the researcher, and the field. This dialectical relationship is present at every stage from thinking about the problem, to observing, interviewing and creating the data, through systematic analysis to

the creation of the 'final' text. 'Analysis' in this conceptualisation is not a discrete, bounded process but shades into fieldwork and writing. Another way of describing this relationship would be what Dey calls 'the disciplined imagination', a framework for considering the 'fit' of theory to the reality under examination. 'One of the great strengths of grounded theory undoubtedly lies in its determination to discipline the discovery of theory by reference to research.' (Dey 1999, 242)

Theory does and did undoubtedly arise from the data nevertheless. Such inductive or grounded evidence can be seen for example in the material in chapter 9, where the nature and significance of *boundaries* emerges from the data. Events and observations as well as participants' accounts provide the basis for a *theory-building* approach to institutionality as a key concept. Secondly there is argument arising from a more theory-driven approach to the data, where observational and other data are examined through the conceptual lens or lenses of prior theory. Features characterised in the literature, as typical of closed or total institutions for example, can provide an analytical framework for a *theory-testing* approach. This methodological or analytical triangulation is helpful in establishing the validity of this account. In relation to the claim that sail training vessels can be understood as closed institutions, for example, data from three voyage cases are adduced to exemplify the basis of the theory building approach, and a range of data, mainly but not exclusively from the voyage in *Sir Winston Churchill* is examined in a theory testing mode.

The central question in relation to analysis has to be one about the legitimacy of this account. In this respect it is helpful to consider Stanley's helpful list of 'Injunctions for good practice' in ethnography, as follows:

- Establish the wider relations of setting and topic
- Identify the features addressed in the study, and those left unresearched, discuss why choices were made and their implications.
- Identify theoretical framework and broader values and commitments

- Establish *The Authority of the Data*:
 - discuss the problems that arose at all stages
 - outline the grounds on which the categorisation system was developed
 - discuss rival and alternative ways of organising the data
 - provide sufficient data extracts
 - discuss power relations
 - show the complexity of the data

(Stanley 1990)

From a more theoretical perspective it might be argued that it is the turning inward 'towards the person of the researcher' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000) to reflect on the process of generation and analysis that establishes the basis for an ethnography to be taken seriously. As I have shown this has been a major preoccupation.

It is particularly important to consider 'negative' cases, or in Stanley's phrase 'rival and alternative ways of organising the data'. The conceptualisation of 'outliers', 'discrepant cases' or 'unusual events' (Miles and Huberman 1994, 268) is particularly helpful in considering data such as this, where the straightforwardly 'negative' case is difficult to specify. At the level of voyages as cases one might consider the extent to which each case displayed the features that support the view that after about four days a critical point is reached in the development of a collective sense among the staff and participants, evidenced through changing patterns of interaction and engagement with social and technical dimensions of the 'work' of the vessel. In this respect there were two significantly discrepant cases, one where the planned duration was a weekend, and the extent to which this voyage 'failed' in producing the claimed effect might be seen as supporting the four-day thesis, and not therefore as a negative case at all. The second, spectacularly negative, case is briefly described in Chapter 6.

At the level of individual participants' responses to the experience there were notably negative instances in about half the voyages. In these it was clear that one or more

individual trainees were experiencing their participation as a partly or wholly negative experience. This was expressed through varying degrees of hostility to staff or other trainees and through lack of willingness to participate in some of the activities of the voyage. These individuals were generally not displaying many of the behaviours cited as evidence for the development of collective engagement. What such data has done is not so much to undermine the conclusion that after four days 'something happens', as to help define the boundaries and conditions for that something to happen. In instances where the boundaries have been challenged by trainees wishing to get off the boat what is demonstrated is that the boundaries exist, and that they are particularly important. These individual cases also provide some useful insights into the question of trainees' preparation and choice in respect of participation. Comparison both within and across voyages between these negative cases, and participants who experience participation positively is strongly suggestive of the importance of a period of preparation, and of trainees having themselves actively chosen their involvement. Discrepant cases in these examples are signposts to issues and problems, rather than as in a positivist approach cause to doubt the main findings.

Research Problems and Issues

The study presented a number of problems of different kinds, some well anticipated, others less so. A minority of voyages permitted me the role of a more or less supernumerary researcher without substantial responsibilities for watchkeeping or organisation. Most voyages were undertaken as a fully active member of a staff team, and on several occasions as part of a slightly short-handed team placing additional demands on my attention time and energy. The voyage undertaken in June 1998 aboard *Taikoo*, for example, involved a staff team of four rather than the usual five or six. Similarly my first voyage aboard *Spirit of Fairbridge* in June 2000 cast me unexpectedly in the role of first mate on an unfamiliar vessel with an unfamiliar rig and a staff team of three rather than her normal complement of four. In respect of this variance from 'pure researcher' to 'pure practitioner' a wide range was evident. At one extreme I found myself able to concentrate perhaps 70% or more of my working time on observing,

recording and interviewing, with only occasional demands to participate in domestic or sailor-work. At the opposite extreme there were voyages such as the two cited above where finding time and opportunity to generate data was a major challenge.

The fieldwork for the study took place in what could often be a physically challenging environment. A common closure to a recorded note is the observation that I am too tired to say any more about the events and activities of the preceding hours or days. The most memorable of these closing remarks is a journal entry, recorded in the twilight before dawn in the middle of the North Sea just after conducting a couple of interviews with trainees on watch:

I think at this point I can safely assume I am the only educational researcher in Europe who is collecting data right at the moment. Possibly the only one awake.
(Fieldwork Journal 14/9/99 0500hrs)

A common reaction from friends, colleagues and acquaintances learning that I was undertaking this work was what I would characterise as the 'foredeck cocktails' perspective. In this view researching sail training is understood as involving sunshine, relaxation and the company of stereotypically attractive people. It would be churlish to deny that the fieldwork had many pleasurable moments. The strongest memories however are of being constantly tired and of being too often consciously frustrated by the fact of preoccupation with my work as a member of staff rendering me unable to concentrate on note making, interviewing or recording. Data was often fragmented and incomplete, and the resulting accounts of voyages are in important respects partial and limited not only because of the limitations of a single observer, but because the observer himself was involved in a continuous and not always successful struggle to balance the competing imperatives of practitioner and researcher roles.

Chapter 3: Sail Training in Context - Seafaring, Youth Work and Adventure Education.

This chapter considers both some of the *origins* and the *relations* of sail training. The contemporary sail training movement in the UK exists alongside a number of other types of educational work. Historically and culturally it has roots alongside both youth work, and the outdoor and adventure education movement that emerged after the Second World War. There are affinities among these practices and the main purpose of this chapter is to disentangle, so far as is possible, what is distinctive about sail training and what it has in common with its relations. By developing an analytic perspective on these broad questions the scene is set for a more detailed examination of the range of practices to be found across the range of UK sail training, and of the claims made regarding benefits. In relation to the overall focus of the thesis the significance of *origins* is that the belief that teenagers and young adults will benefit in some way from a temporary exposure to life and work at sea is both deeply embedded culturally, and can be understood as reflecting a range of ideologies or value positions. Consideration of *relations* allows sail training to be located in a wider map of educational discourses and practices.

The purpose of this chapter is not simply to relate sail training to a range of connected practices, nor just to describe its history. The central issue is that of purpose, and the focus is on the first research question: *what influences have shaped contemporary sail training?* This focus generates several possible subsidiary questions including consideration of both events and ideas. By events I am referring to, broadly, questions about ‘what happened’ in the development of sail training and its relations. In considering ideas attention is being switched from ‘what’ questions to ‘why’ questions, exploring the values and beliefs or ideologies evident or implicit in the emergence of these practices. The central argument of this chapter is that sail training and its relatives all embody ideologies, conceptions of how people are connected and relate in society. In relation to young people as members of society an important debate is framed by the

problematic nature of young people's status as citizens both as a general concern in social policy (Bynner, et al. 1997; Coles 1995; France 1996; Jones and Wallace 1992)] and as a particular focus in relation to education (Downie 1997; France 1998; McCulloch 2000). Conceptions of citizenship and its place as a focus for educational attention provide an important analytic framework through which to distinguish the social and educational ideologies more or less explicitly expressed in these diverse practices.

The chapter begins with an exploration of maritime traditions, drawing on a range of contemporary, historical and literary sources to consider what the wider meaning of seafaring might be. Put simply the first question is: What kinds of beliefs about and understandings of seafaring give it cultural power or significance? The importance of this question lies in its centrality to an understanding of the meanings with which sail training is imbued. That is followed by an analysis of ideas about the nature and purposes of, firstly, youth work and secondly outdoor and adventure education. The concept of citizenship, and different models of education for citizenship help in distinguishing the ideologies or value systems which, it is argued, are expressed through the practices of, principally, sail training but also these related fields of youth work and outdoor education. Some selected research literature from each of these fields is considered with particular attention to the ways in which purpose is expressed and understood.

The roots of modern sail training in the UK can be identified in the traditions and practices of professional and amateur seagoing in the 18th and 19th centuries, but the contemporary practice of sail training was brought into being quite deliberately during the decades following the Second World War. It is significant both for the unique characteristics of the experience offered, and for the number and diversity of those who become participants. The origins of this development are to be found in the intertwined histories of professional seafaring, recreational sailing, outdoor and adventure education, and youth work. The belief that the seafaring life had peculiar benefits is widespread and

of long standing. These benefits are seen as applying with equal force to the professional class -

On one occasion he [Alexander Paterson, Author of Principles of the Borstal System, Prison Commission 1928] told a young man just down from the University: "You don't know enough of life to be any use to us at present. Go away and get to know the world for a year or two and when you return, if you still want to enter the Borstal Service, come back and tell me." The young man took him at his word and shipped before the mast. After a year or two he came back, was accepted and made a very useful Housemaster... (From) Papers of Harold Scott in Bailey (1987)

- and to the rescuing of the abandoned or orphan children of the poor. During the eighteenth century a number of voluntary organisations emerged which were devoted to the care and upbringing of children whose conditions were understood as placing them in danger of falling into a life of crime. The Marine Society was established in 1756 to rescue boys "whose daring tempers ... may subject them to become victims of the law" (Boss 1967, 22) and to provide these boys with access to the career of a seaman.

During the 19th century the Royal Navy introduced dedicated training ships for boy seamen. *HMS Illustrious* was appointed by the Admiralty as the first training ship for boys in 1854. The experiment was judged successful in achieving the aim of inculcating in trainees a love of the sea and pride in the service. (Phillipson 1996,:16) Despite the progressive replacement of sailing warships with steamships, a number of other vessels were commissioned as training ships. The sinking of two of these square-rigged training ships, the *Euridice* in 1878 and the *Atalanta* two years later and the associated loss of life however led to a public outcry and the beginning of the end for sail training in this traditional sense as part of the naval induction. During the late 19th Century the last sailing warships were being phased out as the transition to steam gathered pace. As Phillipson's account illustrates, many of the traditions of the 18th and 19th Century Navy were nevertheless retained long after the technology that gave them their original significance had been superseded. Many other Northern European nations however retained this professional sail training tradition. Poland, Germany, Denmark, Norway and Russia all have more or less continuous histories of using large square-rigged

vessels as a key part of their professional maritime training system (Hamilton 1988, 81). Beyond Europe, as examples, the US Coastguard employs the square - rigger *Eagle* as an essential element of its training programme, and the Mexican Navy has since 1982 operated *Cuauhtemoc* on a similar basis (Hamilton 1988).

Alongside consideration of the specific history and development of sail training, it is important to consider its relationship to wider discourses of work with young people. There are two distinct perspectives to be considered. Firstly there is the relationship of sail training to the outdoor and adventure education movement, and secondly there is an important relationship with youth work and informal education more generally. Informal work with young people in clubs, organisations and groups is an established part of social life in the UK. With its roots variously described as lying in the 19th century philanthropy of the child saving movement (Platt 1969), in the indoctrination of young men (and women to a lesser extent) with imperial values, and in twentieth-century liberal traditions in education, it is a complex phenomenon. It has been represented as containing a number of distinct traditions including the so called organic tradition of spontaneously developing, locally based youth clubs, and the movement tradition represented by the Scout and Guide Associations and others (Smith 1988). Youth work subsumes a wide range of practices, motives and ideologies, and has been subject to intense critical scrutiny from both left and right. Jeffs (1988; 1994) has argued against formulations of purpose that turn youth work towards control and policing of young peoples' lives and cultures, and in favour of approaches which explicitly take young peoples' side in their struggles to be heard and recognised as legitimate members of society. The conceptualisation of competing ideologies and therefore purposes, in relation to sail training in particular but also to other forms of work with young people is central and is revisited at a number of points.

One key strand in the development of UK sail training was the 'Outward Bound' movement. In its earliest form, this was motivated by a concern to reduce losses from wartime convoys. Young merchant seamen were to be helped to acquire skills which, it was thought, would increase their chances of survival in the event of a ship sinking

(Miner 1990). It is worth noting that the emphasis was on notions of personal resourcefulness and on the psychological qualities or dispositions which were believed to improve chances of survival. Little was known at this time about the mechanisms of hypothermia, and survival was seen as an outcome of personal determination rather than of physiological mechanisms. After the end of the Second World War, the outward bound movement began to reframe its purposes to respond to post war conditions. The emphasis began to shift towards social purposes and particularly to notions of character building through physically demanding activities in the outdoors.

Outdoor education became a prominent feature of the educational landscape during the post war period. The opening of the Whitehall Centre in Derbyshire in 1950 is widely cited as the first milestone in the development of what became a powerful national trend (Loynes 1990). By the early 1970s many local authorities had invested substantially in both capital resources, mainly residential centres, and in staff. By 1973 for example the Edinburgh Corporation had established two residential centres, a full-time post of Outdoor Education teacher in most of its secondary schools, and later acquired, for a time, its own sail training yacht. The public expenditure cuts of the mid 1970s and later put a strong brake on this growth but the example serves to illustrate the rapid growth of this new educational phenomenon. It is also worth noting, in something of a parallel with the public response to the loss of sail training vessels in the late 19th century, the impact on the growth of outdoor and adventure education of some tragic accidents. The events on Cairngorm of 1971 where several pupils and a staff member from Ainslie Park school in Edinburgh died from hypothermia stimulated moves towards stricter regulation of outdoor activity by local authorities' staff. The deaths of some young novice canoeists in Lyme Bay in 1993 also led directly to the establishment of a UK licensing authority for organisations offering outdoor pursuits (Gair 1997).

The Maritime Adventure

Ships and the sea have a strong cultural significance, and there is compelling evidence that sail training is attributed qualities arising from its associations with seafaring more generally. It is understood by participants, practitioners and onlookers as, at least in part, a maritime adventure, strongly linked to a wider context of contemporary and historical seafaring. The importance of these associations is in the ways they shape understandings of the nature, purpose and meaning of sail training.

During the writing of this thesis a major focus of media attention emerged, when in February 2001 Ellen MacArthur completed and very nearly won the Vendée Globe Yacht Race, a competition for single-handed non-stop sailing from France around the world via the Southern Ocean. She was the youngest person to complete that race and fastest ever woman circumnavigator (Gorman 2001). The press and television were, for several weeks, filled with sailing stories, mainly about MacArthur herself and her remarkable achievements, but also in some cases contextualising this achievement by reference to similar events. Thirty years earlier the late sixties and early seventies had seen a range of nautical achievements including single handed circumnavigations by Chichester and Knox-Johnston, and the Atlantic crossing by rowing, by Ridgeway and Blyth.

These highly publicised achievements demonstrate cultural significance by the attention they generate. In this popular discourse of seafaring the lone yachswoman or yachtsman is represented as a heroic figure, triumphing over elemental forces, bodily weakness and the fragile vulnerability of high-tech racing yachts to achieve both personal and national status. These examples illustrate the significance of sailing in contemporary culture as a sport or an adventure. Modern sailing is important culturally in two main ways, whether viewed as in these examples as an arena for personal challenge and competition or on the other hand as a relaxing leisure pursuit suggesting images of a privileged carefree life in the sun. In relation to these particular kinds of maritime adventure the question whether sail training provides 'different social and environmental contexts to those of

offshore competitive sailing' (Humberstone 2000, 32) helps to locate sail training in relation to racing and by extension to the broader context of leisure sailing.

The media excitement over Ellen MacArthur's achievement provides a rich mix of material from which to distill some important aspects of the way seafaring under sail is understood at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In the newspaper coverage at the time, three key themes were evident. Firstly the matter of gender is salient in nearly all reports. MacArthur is described as 'the fastest woman to sail solo around the world' (Birkett 2001) or similar terms in a number of articles. More flamboyantly and more than slightly tongue-in cheek, Julie Welch described her as 'Ellen MacArthur. What a hero. So young, so fearless, so unpretentious – so womanly. It was there in the little gold studs in her ears, the gamine haircut' (Welch 2001). In these reports the lone yachswoman is represented as a heroic figure able to compete on equal terms with men, in a contest that demands a whole range of traditionally masculine attributes including physical strength and endurance, technical skill in a range of fields, and physical courage. These latter attributes are highlighted in much of the media coverage, particularly her creation of advantage through the interpretation of weather.

It is the ability to read the weather that marks out the exceptional sailor, and MacArthur is blessed with a particular skill. Her superior interpretation of the same meteorological information that every sailor in the race had was one of the keys to her success. (Fisher 2001)

Alongside gender and the possession of special skills and qualities, the third theme that was evident in many accounts was Ellen MacArthur's status as an ordinary person who had made herself extraordinary. Her family background in 'landlocked Derbyshire' (White 2001) was picked over by the press, and the story of her saving for two years to buy herself a sailing dinghy retold many times. She was constructed, by the media, into a symbolic figure of considerable power, with her gender, social origins and achievement woven together and represented against a background of other heroic feats of maritime achievement.

The significance of these events and the reason for close attention here lies in their power as evidence for the view that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, going to sea in wind-powered vessels still has a powerful symbolic meaning. Seafaring is valorised both as an individual achievement and as an expression of national character, now in both British and European terms. As she approached the French coast in the closing days of the French-organised race she was sent a joint communication from the British and French Prime Ministers praising an achievement 'in the best tradition of our two great maritime nations' (Gorman 2001). Seafaring under sail is thus revealed as having not only cultural but also political and moral significance, expressing virtues of courage, determination or persistence, and skill. It is understood in this discourse as having a transformative potential, the capacity to make ordinary people somehow extraordinary.

Historically, accounts of going to sea under sail address mainly commercial or military endeavours. Two accounts of life at sea in the mercantile marine are particularly significant as having drawn seafaring into a popular cultural context. Richard Henry Dana (1815-82) was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and at the age of 19 he signed on as a deckhand on the *Pilgrim* for a two-year voyage in the hides trade to California. He had temporarily abandoned his law studies at Harvard following a bout of measles, which had affected his eyesight, and the voyage was taken on medical advice. His account of the experience, *Two Years Before the Mast* (Dana 1996), originally published anonymously in 1840 is particularly notable as a literary and in a sense quasi-ethnographic narrative account of seafaring. It was highly influential at the time, provoking a public and political debate in America on the treatment and working conditions of seamen. Significantly its publication also brought into currency the notion that time spent at sea was a legitimate and beneficial element of a young professional man's education. Dana had never planned a career at sea; on his return to Boston (with his eyesight recovered) he resumed his legal studies and practised as a lawyer for the rest of his life.

Dana's impact on the cultural representation of seafaring is thought to extend far beyond the direct impact of his own work however. It is widely believed that Herman Melville drew on Dana's account of shipboard life as inspiration for his seafaring novels including *White Jacket* and the better known *Moby Dick*. The significance of this lies not only in the cultural arena and the literary representation of seafaring but also in its connection to theorising and to the sociology of shipboard life. Gerstenberger (1996) suggests that had Erving Goffman not been familiar with Melville's *White Jacket*, he 'might not have been tempted to include ships in his list of so-called total institutions' (Gerstenberger 1996,173). Even if these claims are somewhat speculative, they are nevertheless strongly suggestive of a view of Dana's work as seminal in a number of senses. He established seafaring as a subject of literary endeavour and social concern, in both helping to found a literary genre and in raising issues of justice and welfare in relation to merchant seamen. He also laid one important foundation for a view of seafaring as an experience that might have benefits in relation to what we might now call the 'personal and social development' of individuals. Finally and perhaps a little cautiously one could say of Dana that he laid one important foundation for the construction of seafaring in its social and organisational dimensions as an object of critical enquiry. The title of the present work is among other things intended to acknowledge the significance of Dana's book.

In *The Last Grain Race* (Newby 1990) originally published in 1956, Eric Newby gave a graphic account of a voyage in which he sailed 'before the mast' very much in the Dana tradition from Belfast to Australia and back to Glasgow. The title derives from the competition between ships that had originally arisen from market considerations but by the late 1930s was simply a tradition. Masters drove their ships in a manner reminiscent of contemporary ocean racing, always seeking the most favourable winds and the best possible speed.

This is an important text for a number of reasons. Firstly it is a classic account of seafaring 'done for the experience' in the late 1930s and as such provides some insights into both the experience of a long voyage under sail and into the culture of square-rig

sailing as a commercial trade in its final moments. Secondly, Newby's story offers the basis for comparison of the process of learning to live the life of a sailor, in his context, with the experience of sail trainees at the end of the twentieth century. The crew which Newby joined was predominantly Scandinavian (Swedish and Finnish). Despite his being well-informed through reading about what he might expect in a sailing ship he describes his considerable difficulty in 'learning the ropes' on a large and complex rig. All of this required the learning to take place in Swedish, the working language of the ship *Moshulu*. This dimension makes Newby's account particularly useful as an insight into the processes of a sailing novitiate.

Alongside these accounts of seafaring as part of a commercial enterprise there are a number of important sources that describe voyages taken for their own sake, for the pleasure of sailing or for the adventure. Joshua Slocum's *Sailing Alone Around the World* (Slocum 1978), originally published in book form in 1900 following serialisation in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* was in many respects a literary phenomenon. According to Slocum's biographer (Teller 1959) it continued to sell 'by the tens of thousands' well into the mid-20th century. Slocum was a professional seaman who decided to make a voyage not as a trader or explorer, but simply for the experience; to be the first to sail alone round the world in a small boat; to gain fame from that achievement and earn a living from writing about it. The literary and commercial success of this adventure for Slocum is however less significant than its importance as an addition to this growing maritime literature. In this case the idea of voyaging under sail was represented as an expression of self-reliance, mental and physical toughness and resilience, and also as a context for the emergence of self-knowledge.

None of these writers however have much direct connection with the contemporary practices of sail training. Their significance lies in the way they have shaped and reflected the twentieth century view of seafaring as a romantic challenge, as an adventure offering opportunities for personal development through the meeting of the physical and social challenges of seafaring alone or in company. Seligman (1939) however, provides a detailed and thoughtful narrative of a voyage undertaken in the late

1930s which has a number of features recognisable as similar to some of the contemporary practice of sail training. Adrian Seligman was a middle-class university dropout who had spent a number of years at sea professionally in his early twenties, rising to the status of second mate. Like Newby he served in Scandinavian-owned trading barques; unlike Newby he made a number of voyages in different vessels over a five-year period.

In 1936 Seligman used an inheritance to buy and convert a French fishing schooner for a cruise around the world. He recruited a crew of paying participants, mostly in their late teens and early twenties, and set out 'to discover whether a score of healthy young people could live happily together for a long time, without any contact with the world to which they had become accustomed; with no other tie than a common determination to make the voyage a success.' (Seligman 1939,48). The parallels with modern sail training are, firstly, purpose. The voyage was undertaken for its own sake and with a self-conscious intention of self-discovery and simple enjoyment. Secondly, no commercial or competitive motive was involved and the participants had contributed financially towards the cost of the voyage rather than being paid as crew. Thirdly the participants joined with, apart from Seligman and his close associates, little or no knowledge or experience of the sea and ships. The circumnavigation was completed almost exactly coincident with the outbreak of the Second World War, and the book published shortly after. Seligman's account of the voyage describes the pain and difficulty of the voyage as well as the pleasure and interest. What it represents, perhaps more clearly than any other account, is the way that in the twentieth century *sailing* was changing from being a business (whether military or mercantile) to becoming an adventure.

In addition to these and other factual accounts there is an extensive and extremely popular genre of historical fiction set in the Royal Navy at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. This seems to have begun with C.S.Forester's 'Hornblower' novels and now includes a number of writers. Pre-eminent in this field is the work of the late Patrick O'Brian who wrote a series of twenty novels recounting the career and exploits of a fictional officer in the Royal Navy at the beginning of the 19th century (O'Brian 1970,et

seq.). These novels are works of considerable scholarship, the events recounted being based on verifiable primary historical source material, real events from many different naval careers being woven into the fabric of an extended fiction. O'Brian's central character was modelled on the life of Alexander Cochrane (see Grimble (2000) for a full account). The significance of these novels here is that their popularity signals something quite important about the significance of maritime life and adventure in the cultural imagination. As a genre these novels have been remarkably successful, O'Brian's work running to many editions and creating something of a cult following and numerous imitators. It would be safe to assume that most of this readership has never lived the life of a sailor in even a limited way, yet there is clearly something about these accounts that resonates powerfully with some aspect of cultural identity.

Finally, this exploration would be incomplete without a mention of Arthur Ransome. His *Peter Duck* (Ransome 1993 - original publication 1930) tells the story of a group of children undertaking a sea voyage aboard a small schooner with their uncle. Many of the experiences and themes have a resemblance to some modern sail training. Ransome died in 1967 and it is not known whether he had any contact with the pioneers of sail training but it is quite probable that his particular account of young people's seafaring was familiar to some of the early practitioners. Whether this and Ransome's other novels with similar themes were influences on, or simply resonant with the development of sail training in the mid twentieth century is impossible to say. Taken alongside the other evidence however they do provide compelling additional support for the claim, that the belief that there is something beneficial for young people in going to sea is widespread and deep.

The reason for exploring these various accounts of historical and contemporary seafaring lies in the extent to which they show the cultural importance of going to sea. It is not to simply claim that sail training originates directly from the events and practices of the Napoleonic Navy or from the adventurous exploits of Slocum or Seligman. There is good evidence of connections linking features of contemporary sail training to historical precursors, and some of these features are explored in following chapters. The argument

here however is rather that to understand sail training properly it is important to recognise the significance of seafaring as an idea, or as a symbol. I favour no single specific interpretation of what seafaring may in these terms represent. Notions of national identity, of historical nostalgia for an imagined time, and by contrast ideas of the sea as a means of linking and sharing disparate locations and identities are some possible meanings. The issue of meaning or ideology is central to the overall argument of this thesis and is one to which I will return.

Youth Work and Citizenship

Youth work is considered here as both one of the relations of sail training and as central to its origins. Historically one might say that they grew up together. Sail training in its modern form grew up in the second half of the twentieth century, coinciding with the emergence of youth work as a professionalised activity. Secondly a number of sail training organisations have explicitly aligned their work within the discourse of youth work. Ocean Youth Trust Scotland uses the phrase 'Quality Youth Work at Sea' to describe its activity. The Sail Training Association has, in developing the staffing model for its new vessels included a position of 'youth mentor' as a role partly outside the traditional structure of command and control. Fairbridge is even more clearly located within the boundary of youth work, as an organisation that works with young people and uses sail training as one of a range of specific methods or approaches. The premise here is that sail training shares many features with the wider framework of youth work, including a more or less explicit preoccupation with the relationship between individuals and collectivities. This is variously framed as concern with social order (Davies 1986), with young people and risk (Furlong and Cartmel 1997), or with the problem of citizenship (Rowe, et al. 1998).

Youth work in the UK has developed over the past century and a half, with roots variously to be recognised in the rescuing and child-saving traditions of the 19th century (Platt 1969), in state-sponsored concern for the physical fitness of potential recruits for military service, and in the professionalisation of welfare in the second half of the

twentieth century (Smith 1988). In an era when youth has been described as 'threatening' (Davies 1986) or as a focus for 'moral panics' (Cohen 1972) youth work has, and continues to be the subject of a vigorous debate. The purpose of educational work with young people, outside the institutions of home, school or work is energetically contested both at the micro-level of practice and in the ideological domain. The relevance of this for the study of sail training lies precisely here. As in one sense a form of youth work, sail training provides in its different manifestations some striking exemplars of ideological contrast.

Since the nineteenth century a range of practices in working with young people have grown up in the UK and elsewhere which recognisably share some important characteristics. Some of the key features of this work are its emphasis on adults working alongside young people as leaders, advisers or mentors, on young people participating as volunteers rather than through compulsion, and on concerns with social process being as important and often more so than the content of activities (HMI 1991). These practices are diverse in origins, focus and style but are widely understood in both policy, academic research and in their place in everyday life as having some common features. There are however many contradictions in this discourse of youth work. The voluntary nature of young persons' engagement with adults, the control of content, and inequality and power differentials between adults and young people are among the most important issues in this respect.

Davies (1999) argues that during the 1980s a central theme in the arguments about the nature and purpose of the work was its relation to concerns with social order. The policy of successive governments was to see youth work as concerned with the moral order in relation to young people as a category, and to concerns with crime and disorder in particular. Davies asserts that 'In usually taken for granted ways policy makers ... managers and youth workers [in the early 1980s] continued to assume that the youth service could and should help young people avoid criminal activity' (1999, 86). During the last quarter of a century a dominant view in relation to young people was that social welfare and state intervention had had many negative effects on the attitudes of youth in

general, and young working class men in particular. Far from being seen as acquiring adult status, the transition through adolescence was to be understood as increasing the threat that these young people present to social order. In this framework they are understood as a threatening phenomenon 'because they are [perceived as] immoral and have little respect for others or their obligations.' (France 1998,109). In this analysis some young people are understood as failing to accept or even as consciously refusing the moral obligations of citizenship.

Citizenship is both a contemporary preoccupation and an enduring theme in relation to young people and Youth Work. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, a formulation of the purpose of Youth Work (more specifically of The Youth Service) that gained a wide currency and prolonged somewhat uncritical use was:

To offer individual young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds, complementary to those of home, formal education and work, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus the better equip themselves to live the lives of mature, creative and responsible members of a free society.(Sir John Redcliff-Maud circa 1950) quoted in (HMSO 1960)

A more recent statement of purpose comes from the National Youth Agency's recent work on occupational standards for youth work in England and Wales:

To facilitate and support young people's growth through dependence to interdependence, by encouraging their personal and social education and helping them to take a positive role in the development of their communities and society. (National Youth Agency 1999)

These utterances might be separated by half a century but some of the sentiments seem remarkably similar. There is a continuing concern with individual development and growth, and a strong reference in both cases to a concept of youth as a process of 'becoming'. Young people are not seen as full citizens but as proto-citizens, taking on citizen status only once they have been helped as required to acquire the skills and resources to deal with the responsibilities of interdependent adulthood. The two statements may also however be understood as representing shifts in understanding from a more individualistic, conservative world view to one with a greater emphasis on the

social. Such a shift of emphasis does not of itself signify a fundamental change in the purpose and practice of workers in the field but it does provide some support for the view that understandings of purpose have moved significantly over time.

The methods and approaches of youth work have permeated many institutional frameworks and organisations. It is not uncommon to find work which has the characteristics of style and approach that recognisably belong within this discourse being carried on with school pupils during the school day, and in social work or youth justice contexts where the participants' engagement is anything but voluntary. During the 1980s particularly there was a shift away from what might be called 'traditional' approaches to youth work which emphasised the voluntary dimension, to an altogether more prescriptive approach by the state. As Davies puts it: 'The Thatcher project was concerned to "remoralise" young people, to ensure they took on the values of the new right, for example by making care and welfare services 'part of the national pattern of law and order services' (Davies 1999, 13). The notion of voluntary engagement is as problematic now as it ever has been, but remains as an essential conceptual foundation for the practice of youth work. Voluntary engagement in the experience emerged during the study as an important theme in sail training in respect of the context of young people's participation.

A further important issue is the way power relations between adults and young people are understood and expressed. These can be understood as mediating understandings of both citizenship as a general concept, and its relationship to or relevance for particular young people. How is it that young people's membership of society is understood, and what if any role do the practices of youth workers in general, and sail trainers in particular have in relation to, in the language of the time 'education for citizenship'? Right across the range of claims made for the benefits of sail training there is a consistent appeal to concerns with living together, co-operating with one's peers and to accepting the constraints on individuality that are imposed by the situation. This can readily be understood as an indirect reference to the concept of citizenship and therefore to one of the fundamental arenas of ideological debate. An examination of contemporary

approaches to citizenship education reveals a range of approaches, with political ideologies and their accompanying understandings of citizenship leading to distinctive emphases and fundamentally differing methods and content.

In the recent past there has been a growing interest, in Scotland as well as further afield, in the securing of young people's participation in quasi-political decision making process, particularly but not only in the context of youth work practice. Hendry, et al. (1991) accumulated a considerable body of evidence strongly supportive of the view that positive participation, decision making and taking responsibility can be positively rewarding for young people both as individuals and at a group level. More recently (Downie 1997) suggests that young people may frequently be found to have a strong and active interest in being consulted and involved in decision making in local neighbourhoods. Teenagers and young adults are placed in an ambiguous position as (Staeheli and Thompson 1997) demonstrate in an American context and (Dee 1995) describes in Australia, in relation to the 'ownership' of public space. These studies focus on citizenship as concerned with conformity to a pattern of institutions and behaviour, and less with the right to dissent and to seek change.

I have argued elsewhere (McCulloch 2000) for a conceptualisation of citizenship education employing a typology which distinguishes three distinctive models of citizenship education. This offers a distinction between a consensus view of the world where citizenship is understood as concerned with enfranchisement and voting activity, a more pluralistic view which values active participation in established (and new) political or debating forums, and finally a more radical view where citizenship is understood in terms of the right to dissent. Each of these implies a different emphasis for educators. In the first, citizenship education is understood primarily in terms of a knowledge framework, in the pluralist model as legitimated participation in youth forums, and in the radical view citizenship education is construed in terms of social action, including the right to campaign or protest.

Citizenship education has been undertaken in schools here and abroad for many years. There is however little evidence on which to base a belief that much of this sort of activity really does a great deal of good. Jeffs (1995) considers that while academically able young people, mainly but not exclusively the children of the middle class, tend to have a fair understanding and some interest in matters such as the mechanics of the electoral system, those already on the margins by their early teenage years are unlikely to recognise these matters as having much relevance for them.

What exists fails the test [...] since it does nothing to prepare young people to participate effectively in the democratic process. Attempts to promote 'citizenship' and 'political literacy' therefore inevitably achieve little because as the Schools Council pointed out, schools do not 'practice what they seek to promote'. Even teachers, who are adults and professionals, find their rights of participation are a political ritual which lends support to what is in reality a system of autocracy. (Jeffs 1995)

It may well be argued that participation in the decision making processes of a youth work agency or programme can provide a more enriching and positive experience than that. Many youth workers would, after all, claim to be actively attempting to practice what they seek to promote in relation to participation and distribution of power.

For youth workers to justify claims or to seek the realisation of an ambition to be concerned at least in part with progressive social change, ways must be found to support young people's struggles for a voice outside the formal, officially sanctioned structures for 'participation'. This problem is no less acute for sail training practitioners than for urban youth workers. The closed environment of a sail training vessel of any size provides the opportunity for the exercise of many different forms of power and decision-making, and as such can be turned to many different ideological purposes. These could range from the ultra-conservative, concerned to reproduce and reinforce existing patterns of social relations, to a radical model with fundamentally different aspirations. It may seem unduly dramatic to suggest that youth workers should be supporting young people in efforts 'not simply to extract concessions from the state or to rescind some intolerable measure, but to change the government and the very structure of power' (Foucault 1991,273), but such hopes and aspirations are widely expressed.

Outdoor and Adventure Education

The terms 'outdoor education', 'adventure education' and 'outdoor and adventure education' are often used, a little confusingly, as labels attached to a wide variety of practices, along with 'outdoor activities' and 'outdoor pursuits'. The terms appear to be both nuanced and culturally specific. It appears for example that in the USA the phrase outdoor education conveys a focus on the environment, whereas in the UK outdoor education conveys an emphasis on open-air activities including camping, mountaineering and some kinds of water-based activities. For my present purpose I use the term outdoor education in its specifically British sense. Adventure education is used here to encompass a wider field which includes sail training and a range of practices including the use of outdoor activity for therapeutic and for organisational purposes such as team-building or training (Mortlock 1984).

The development of outdoor education in the UK and elsewhere is a striking phenomenon in the twentieth century educational landscape. Philosophically its roots may be traced alongside the origins of youth work to the work of the 19th century child savers with their focus on the health benefits of the countryside, (Platt 1969); to the work of Dewey (1963) in articulating the notion of education through experience; and to the ideas of Baden Powell in the UK and Thomson in the USA (Rosenthal 1986). The unifying theme was that an active outdoor life would promote both health in the individual, physically and psychologically, and that it would also promote social and political (ideological) objectives. This general belief in the value of the outdoor life grew rapidly throughout the western world during the first half of the twentieth century, and was expressed through the emergence of a range of organisations and practices. Sail training stands somewhat apart from the mainstream of contemporary outdoor education but can be shown to have some roots in common with land based practice. Although sail training is almost entirely disconnected organisationally and culturally from outdoor education as usually understood, it can be situated analytically within a shared conceptual boundary. Land based outdoor education and sail training are in this analysis elements within a common framework.

A key point to be made at this point concerns the pursuit of explicit ideological objectives. In 1930s Germany, the *Hitlerjugend* used outdoor life including camping and hiking as a key part of its programme (Lewis 2000). A maritime branch, the *Marine-Hitlerjugend* operated as a specialised branch for those with ‘a flair for the seafaring life’ and operated several specially built large yachts. Lewis also notes that despite efforts to the contrary the *Hitlerjugend* was never quite the universal youth movement of Nazi aspirations. One of its predecessors was the *Wandervögel*, founded in 1896 and ‘devoted ...to healthy, outdoor, back to nature activities’ (Lewis 2000, 13). The *Wandervögel* were seen as representative of un-Nazi liberal values and were persecuted to the point of becoming part of what Lewis describes as ‘the underground resistance’ to Nazism. Here we can see outdoor life as, in an important sense, contested ideological territory.

These ‘outdoor’ movements were paralleled in the UK, the USA and elsewhere. Their significance here is as evidence supporting the view that organised outdoor life has a political or ideological dimension, but that it is not the particular property of any group or point of view. Organised outdoor adventure of various kinds can serve widely differing value imperatives or ideologies. The emergence in the 1930s of the *Woodcraft Folk* also supports this interpretation. The *Woodcraft Folk* began in Lancashire at the end of the 1920s, as an outgrowth of the Co-operative movement (Bourn 1989) and were a self-conscious socialist reaction to what were seen at the time, by the political left, as the militaristic and imperial values of the Scout movement.

In the UK the events of the Second World War were centrally formative in relation to the form and focus of outdoor and adventure education as it has subsequently developed. Kurt Hahn was a German educationalist who pursued convictions about the decline of important human qualities in industrial civilisation. He developed an approach to education that among other features placed a particular value on challenging and adventurous activities in the outdoors. Hahn’s first school, which was at Salem in Germany was closed down and Hahn imprisoned for a time, when Hitler rose to power (Richards 1990). He came as a refugee to Britain and spent some time in Morayshire,

where according to Miner (1990) 'On the wharf in Hopeman Harbor (sic) he listened to Captain Danny Main tell tales of men of simple courage against the forces of the sea.' In 1934 Hahn opened Gordonstoun School, which combined an academic education with a distinctive blend of physical activity including seafaring, and a range of 'community service' activities.

When the war began Hahn worked with Lawrence Holt, a partner in the Liverpool based Blue Funnel Line shipping company, and a 'Gordonstoun Father', to set up the first Outward Bound school at Aberdovey in Wales in 1941. The impulse for this project was Holt's concern at the high losses of merchant seamen whose ships had been torpedoed in Atlantic convoys. According to Miner, Holt was convinced 'that due to faulty training many seamen ...were dying unnecessarily. Unlike sail-trained old-timers ...the younger men and youths had not acquired a sense of wind and weather, a reliance on their own resources, and a selfless bond with their fellows' (Miner 1990,59).

Outward Bound training, consisting of a month long course combining small boat sailing, athletic fitness training, land navigation and an 'expedition' in mountain terrain rapidly became widely known and popular. It was aimed at young men between the ages of 16 and 23, and drew participants from industrial apprenticeships, the police and fire services, and from schools, as well as Holt's original young merchant seaman trainees. The programme was seen as such a positive experience for participants that demand quickly outstripped supply and several more such centres were opened during the decades following the end of the war. The Outward Bound centres are widely recognised as one of the essential foundations for the development of outdoor education in the UK. Nicol (2001,33) traces the development of residential outdoor education centres in Scotland back to these roots through, inter alia, an examination of the career paths of a number of individuals known to have been influential. This shows an unbroken line of personal connections between for example the first local authority run outdoor education centres in Scotland, their predecessors in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, and the original Outward Bound centres. In this analysis the emergence of the outdoor education movement is clearly located in the context of post-war social and political conditions,

concerned to pursue the civic and military values of 'teamwork, obeying orders, loyalty [and] the ability to inspire others in adverse conditions' (Nicol 2001, 32).

The contemporary practices of outdoor educators in the UK and elsewhere offer some helpful parallels with the specific practices of sail training. In particular similar values and purposes can be identified, and related problems and issues both in practice and for analysis emerge. Claims for the benefits of structured outdoor activity are widespread and cover a wide range of contexts and purposes. In the North American literature an emphasis on therapeutic purposes is evident in such sources as Mand and Green (1973) who described an outdoor programme as facilitating emotionally disturbed and handicapped children's development of social, emotional and academic skills. Brown and Simpson (1976) offer an analysis of an outdoor programme as providing opportunities for the development of self-knowledge. A larger scale study of wilderness and adventure programmes (Kimball 1980) found that the development of problem-solving skills and the enhancement of self-concept and self-control were widely regarded as outcomes of such programmes. This type of individualistic and therapeutically focussed claim is very widespread and appears in respect of programmes for diverse groups including for example Australian High School students (Armsden 1995), people with learning difficulties who exhibit so called challenging behaviour (Massey and Rose 1992) and postal service managers in the north of England (Patel and Perruzza 1993).

In the American context Griffin (1997) has argued that it is important to consider how young women (and men) are represented in specific contexts as consumers and especially as disordered consumers. Such representations and the associated regimes of management and treatment are, according to this analysis gendered, sexualized, racialized and class-specific. So called 'wilderness programmes' are analysed as a therapeutic response to 'defiant teens' in California. The growth of so called Specialty Schools in the USA offering such programmes is described as 'attempting to police and smooth over potentially difficult moments of transition to adulthood in a caring yet controlling way' (Griffin 1997, 4). This development is however by no means new.

Therapeutic and correctional outdoor programmes such as VisionQuest (Greenwood and Turner 1987) have been part of the scene in the USA for more than 20 years, and include so-called 'Therapeutic Camps' (Bailey 1978) as part of a now well established wilderness therapy movement (Davis-Berman and Berman 1994).

In an important recent text and one of only a very few serious attempts to theorise the UK version of outdoor education, Gair (1997) sets out to offer outdoor education practitioners a set of frameworks for understanding and analysis. The frameworks offered are the result of serious efforts to theorise practice in an area that is often treated by practitioners and observers alike as entirely practical and theoretically unproblematic. Gair can be said to promote Schön's (1987) notion of 'reflective practice' in the outdoor education domain.

In much of this work however, the way in which outdoor education is conceptualised and defined remains problematic. The choices which educators exercise in relation to the activity focus of outdoor education are critical, and the differences between canoeing, rock climbing, walking, mountaineering and offshore sailing as activities are profoundly significant. These choices are rarely considered explicitly. A common criticism of outdoor educators is that the focus on particular activities arises out of the adult instigators' own preferences and interests rather than out of serious analysis. Sail training is no less vulnerable to such criticism than any other outdoor activity and it is the beginning of such analysis that the concluding part of this chapter addresses.

Sail Training: Tall Ships and Leisure Yachting

Sail Training should be understood as resting within a constellation of ideas and practices concerned with the development and growth of individuals, with citizenship and social order and with crime and punishment. It can be related to the practices of youth workers and of outdoor educators. A historical account of sail training in the UK might begin at a number of different places and times. The recognition that seafaring can have a powerful impact on those who experience it is not novel, and the developments that culminated in what has been called the great age of sail in the 18th and 19th centuries

provide an important historical backdrop. As Phillipson's (1996) account serves to illustrate, elements of one sail training tradition can be traced almost in a straightforward line from the practices of the Royal Navy at that time. The notion that seagoing might also have a pleasurable, recreational dimension as distinct from mercantile and military purposes emerged in the 19th century when it became economically possible for the 'leisure class' to operate yachts for pleasure.

The contemporary practices of sail training in the UK emerged during the post Second World War period with roots clearly discernible in earlier practices, but nevertheless as a distinct and novel phenomenon. During the two decades from 1950 onwards a number of very significant developments took place. These included the beginnings of the London Sailing Project and of the Ocean Youth Club in the early 1960s, the launching of the *Sir Winston Churchill* (which might claim to be the first modern purpose-built sail training vessel) in 1966, and the commissioning of *Royalist* for the Sea Cadet Corps in 1970. In 1970 the Association of Sea Training Organisations (ASTO) was formed as an umbrella organisation for what was recognisably becoming a sail training movement. Beyond UK territorial waters, so to speak, similar projects were emerging in other countries. For example in 1968 Dr Rory O'Hanlon and Frank Leamas successfully approached the then Minister of Defence in the Irish Government to ask for the use of the sailing vessel *Asgard* as a national sail training vessel for Ireland³ (Interview, Barry Martin, STA Staff). Crucially, according to Hamilton (1988), in 1956 the first International Sail Training Race, from Torbay to Lisbon took place. For my current purpose the historical account is therefore treated as beginning in the mid-1950s.

The Sail Training Association (STA) was founded in 1956 to organise this first Tall Ships Race, and only subsequently took on a role as a sail training provider. Initially a vessel was chartered in order to ensure a British entry in the Tall Ships Races, and in

³ *Asgard* was a ketch owned by the prominent Irish Nationalist Erskine Childers that had been used to ship arms from Germany in the preparations for the 1916 Easter Rising. The vessel was given 'to the nation' by Childers' widow as a historic symbol; she was replaced with another yacht at the end of her working life and *Asgard III* was commissioned in 1981. Irish sail training thus clearly links with Irish national identity.

1966 the first of two new vessels, the topsail schooner *Sir Winston Churchill* came into service. That was followed a few years later by the launching of a sister ship *Malcolm Miller*, named for the son of a wealthy Edinburgh businessman who donated a substantial part of her building costs. The STA retains its dual role as a sail training provider and as the organiser of the annual Tall Ships Race, although legally and organisationally these two activities are quite separate. In 2000 the STA commissioned the first of two new vessels, the *Stavros S. Niarchos*, once again named for a major donor, with a sister ship *Prince William* coming into service the following year, the Schooners having been sold to new owners in 2000.

The Sea Cadets are a uniformed, disciplined youth organisation with a culture and organisation closely modelled on that of the Royal Navy. The purpose of the organisation is also described as: 'To help young people towards responsible adulthood by encouraging valuable personal attributes and high standards of conduct using a nautical theme based on Naval customs'. The Sea Cadets' official version of their own history goes back to the Crimean War, when sailors returning home from the campaign are said to have formed 'Naval Lads' Brigades' to help orphans in the sea port back streets. The first of these Naval Lads' Brigades was established in the Kent port of Whitstable. In 1914 the Sea Cadet Corps was formed under the sponsorship of the Admiralty, with a clear recruitment agenda. Sea Cadets served at sea in both World Wars. During the Second World War, the Corps provided communicators for the fleet, with their units receiving a 'bounty' for every trained signaller who went to sea, known as 'Bounty Boys'. Both Sea Cadets and the STA fall within what I will describe as the 'Tall Ship' tradition in sail training, and the STA is subsequently examined as the representative case-study.

The London Sailing Project (LSP) is cited (Hamilton 1988) as both seminal in terms of the timing and impact of its emergence and as archetypal in respect of many of its specific practices. When Mr Heathcote Amory began to collaborate with some London Scout and Sea Cadet groups, on the basis of their interest in seafaring and his occasional need for crew to help sail his private yacht, it was the first of several steps toward the

formation of the LSP as a sail training organisation. In parallel at very much the same time, Chris Ellis, an Eton schoolmaster and his friend Rev. A.C. Courtauld began using their own private yachts to take sailing both boys from public school and, through the public school settlement movement, from working class areas of London. They were following an impulse that would lead before long to the beginnings of the Ocean Youth Club which was formally constituted in 1960 (Ocean Youth Club 1985). The Ocean Youth Club became the Ocean Youth Trust in 1998, and in 1999 it ceased operating as a national organisation, but was succeeded by five autonomous regional trusts. The operations and practices of OYC/OYT have been very significant in relation to UK sail training more generally, and notwithstanding these organisational changes it properly forms the main case study representing the Leisure Yachting tradition.

What distinguishes this tradition in its origins was the use of privately owned yachts to take small groups of young novice sailors to sea. This was undertaken in a spirit of what might be called patrician philanthropy, merging beliefs in the benefits of sailing as a recreation with a concern to, as it was and still is claimed, break down the barriers of social class. The means by which these objectives were to be pursued are however profoundly different from those employed in the Tall Ship Tradition. The use of vessels accommodating a dozen trainees and a handful of staff provides the setting for what one informant described as a 'family atmosphere'. The pioneers of this approach were apparently seeking to provide for young people, some of whom would not otherwise have had the opportunity, the same kind of experience as they had valued themselves in sailing with their families. These were men from prosperous middle or upper middle class families for whom sailing yachts was a normal part of their life and expectations:

I've always been keen on sailing myself and had done sailing as a schoolboy and everything, and had had numbers of trips on that boat, I'd taken her out to the Mediterranean and we'd sailed around the Med a bit. It was mostly with friends in the ordinary sort of way at University and all that. I'd done sort of schoolboy sailing, you know, competitively. (Rev. Chris Courtauld, Interview 1998)

The same informant describes the origins of the Ocean Youth Club as driven by a generous altruistic motivation:

Chris Ellis and I put our heads together and indeed our boats together and decided this was something we both wanted to do. I'd got this lovely boat *Duet* which I'd been left by my father, he had died in 1959 and I thought here's this lovely ship and wouldn't it be good if we could use her more widely than just for my own personal use, and get young people involved, and that's how we started.

A Theoretical Framework

The model proposed distinguishes two principal traditions, firstly the tall ship tradition exemplified by the STA and the Sea Cadet Corps, and secondly the leisure yachting tradition represented by the Ocean Youth Club / Ocean Youth Trust and a number of other organisations. There are in addition three important subsidiary traditions. The personal and social development tradition is the most important, influenced by educational, social work and therapeutic approaches, and concerned to use seafaring as a setting for treatment or rehabilitation. The professional yachting tradition connects sail training with the marine leisure industry, and is important because of the flow of staff between sail training and the sailing school and yacht charter industry. The historic vessel movement is concerned primarily with maritime heritage and uses sail training as a means both of retaining the skills of 'traditional' seamanship and as a useful justification for the costly enterprise of restoring and maintaining old wooden ships. Some key distinguishing features of these traditions are set out in Table 3.

This conceptualisation of the field is developed more fully in the following chapter, but is introduced here as a way of establishing the linkages between sail training as a discrete field, and its origins and relations as set out above. The use of *traditions* as analytic categories has been chosen firstly to signal the significance of history in understanding the nature and development of these practices. Secondly it signals an important parallel with Smith's (1988) conceptualisation of traditions in youth work. These categories do not 'map' sail training exactly into Smith's framework but they do offer a similar basis for analysis. Most importantly they express the conceptual as well as historic links between sail training and the related fields of youth work and outdoor education.

Tradition	Origins	Typical Vessel	Culture/Values	Purpose
<i>Tall Ship Tradition</i>	Historic practice of training naval ratings. End of National Service and post-war reconstruction	Larger vessels 25m plus LOA, most are wholly or partly square-rigged; normally >20 trainees per voyage	Regimented and disciplined; strong emphasis on character building and challenge	Adventure and participation in a group experience; mixing of social groups
<i>Leisure Yachting Tradition</i>	Liberal philanthropy; the public school settlement movement.	20m Bermudan ketch; typically 6-12 trainees per voyage	Concern for social experience and enjoyment; sailing for all social classes	Youth work at sea, development of individuals' confidence & self-esteem
<i>Personal & Social Development Tradition</i>	Educational and social work approaches	No typical vessel; distinguished only by approach and values	Focus mainly on work with trainees disadvantaged through poverty, drug use etc.	To work with individuals to achieve specific (individualised) kinds of learning.
<i>Professional Yachting Tradition</i>	Staffing of ST yachts by full-time professional skippers	No typical vessel but clear emphasis on standards of maintenance and sailing performance	Standards of technical seamanship; 'cracking on'	To teach sailing and seamanship skills.
<i>Historic Vessel Tradition</i>	Concern to preserve maritime heritage in the shape of specific vessels	Old sailing vessels, usually wooden, usually traditionally (gaff) rigged.	Traditional sailing techniques & practices; 'common values' of communal self-reliance.	To preserve vessels. (The experience for participants is a justification rather than an imperative)

Table 3: Traditions in UK Sail Training – Summary of Key Features

The traditions described in the model are distinguished in four senses. Firstly there is the matter of origins, not just in the sense of specific historical events and practices, but also the beliefs, circumstances and context from which they are thought to have emerged. One feature that is particularly significant in distinguishing the two principal traditions is the size and type of vessels used. The Tall Ship tradition typically uses larger, fully or partly square-rigged vessels whereas the Leisure Yachting tradition most often uses smaller vessels taking 6-12 trainees per voyage. The most important distinctions arise from consideration of purpose. Purposes are a key difference between the traditions, and

can be understood as distinguished by, firstly, concern with individuality versus concern with conformity. Secondly, there are distinctive emphases on the benefits of the experience of communal life and work in themselves versus a specific concern with the personal growth and development of individuals.

The distinctive culture and values of each tradition are expressed through attitudes to and treatment of trainees, and the attention given to different features of trainees' lives aboard. In some important respects a common culture of maritime life is also evident. There are shared values across the whole range of sail training, and the wider world of seafaring. These arise mainly from the commonalities in the experience of all kinds of seafaring, other than as a passenger, and perhaps from shared understandings of both the risks and the rewards.

The typology (Figure 1) presents the three most important traditions, somewhat tentatively, against these two dimensions of difference. The PSD tradition comes, in a sense, in two possible variants that might be understood as concerned with rehabilitation and conformity (Model 1) and with individual autonomy and self-directed development (Model 2). These variants are placed asymmetrically on the figure to highlight the distinction. This tentative mapping of differences in purpose between these traditions offers a preliminary analysis of themes that are explored more fully in subsequent chapters.

Alongside purpose the category of culture and values is significant. The differences are explored in the following chapter. Of equal interest and worth particularly noting here alongside difference, are the similarities in values and culture across the whole range of sail training organisations and practices. This might best be understood as the maritime culture dimension, linking sail training to the wider sphere of seagoing life. It is characterised by a set of common concerns with safe returns from whatever voyages are made, with an acceptance of the uncertainties inevitably arising from the elemental context, and with all the social and technical practices that have emerged in that context. Going to sea in any size or type of vessel requires a range of skills and disciplines with

much in common whatever means of propulsion is preferred. The common culture of seafaring is an essential background to many of the matters considered in this thesis.

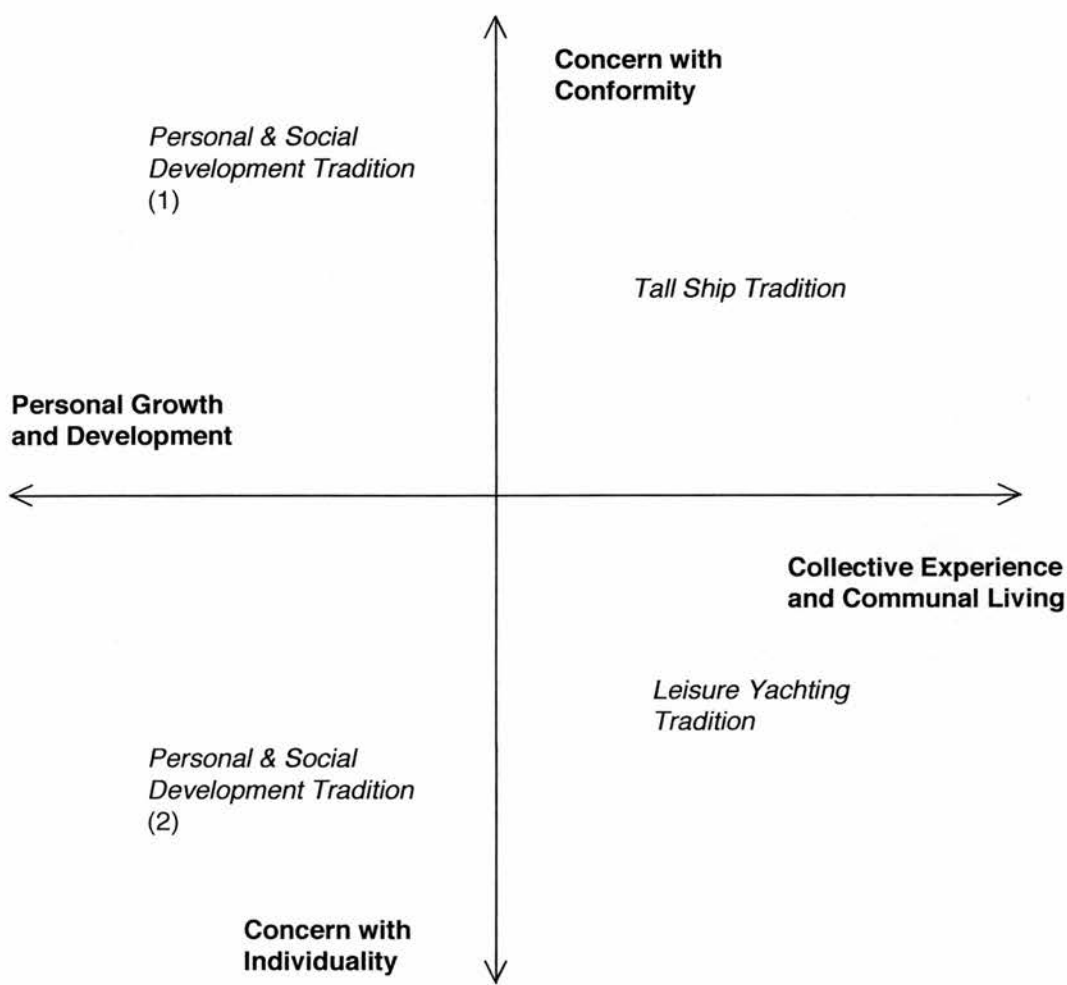


Figure 1: Purposes in sail training.

Sail Training Research

In common with the wider field of outdoor education, there is little research per se to draw on. As Nicol and Higgins (1998) point out, outdoor educationalists have looked to bodies of literature relating to mountaineering, travel and adventure for vision and

inspiration rather than devoting much energy to the creation of a body of research. In sail training this lack of research is even more acute; at the time of writing there were less than half a dozen published studies. Of these Hamilton (1988) is the most comprehensive account available. The author is a comprehensively experienced practitioner and offers a useful account of the state of the field in the late 1980s. This is however an essentially descriptive rather than a seriously analytical treatment; the value and benefits of sail training are treated as unproblematic and in an important sense as implicit. Hamilton suggests that 'there are two types of youngsters who can benefit from sail training' (Hamilton 1988, 12), firstly those who are training as professional seamen and secondly trainees for whom participation is a singular or occasional experience. Nowhere however is the benefit explicitly stated.

Gordon, et al. (1996) offer an account of a study of one group of 7 trainees who participated, as 'Blue Watch' in a sail training voyage on *STS Leeuwin* based in Western Australia. The analysis of benefits to participants focussed on notions of self confidence, self esteem, motivation, tolerance and the opportunity to display talents; negative outcomes were not considered although the 'data summaries' for individuals did indicate some unmet expectations and resistance to aspects of the voyage programme. Purpose was construed in terms of these benefits and the trainees were characterised as marginalised in various respects. A related approach was pursued by Grocott (1999) in a study of the effect of a ten day voyage on self concept. These studies sit clearly within the mainstream of the research literature on outdoor education. Like Brown (1976) and Armsden (1995) for example the focus is very much on individual change and on psychological measures. As this thesis was being written a project in exactly this tradition was being developed on behalf of the International Sail Training Association (Boyes 2001; King 2001). At the time of writing an international survey of sail training organisations was in progress.

A second strand of research is evident with a focus on sail training in association with the justice system or crime prevention. Bottomley and James (1994) undertook a study of a collaborative project developed by the Humberside Probation Service and the Sail

Training Association. Probation Service 'clients' were offered the opportunity to participate in STA voyages as part of a programme of individual rehabilitation. The findings of the study were equivocal in respect of the benefits of participation, because although participants were positive in their assessment of the experience, and showed low rates of re-offending it was also clear that those probation clients offered and accepting this experience were among those least likely to re-offend in any event.

In an important paper Smith and Paylor (1997) present an evaluation of several projects in Lancashire in the mid-1990s all of which were funded specifically to work with young people aged 13-20 'at risk' of offending. Various examples are given but the main emphasis is on a case study that describes, in some detail, a group of young people going on a sailing trip with a vessel and organisation which are not explicitly identified. The paper describes in almost glowing terms the response of the young people to the experience, and while making no specific claims in respect of changes in subsequent behaviour a clear belief is expressed that the experience may have had important consequences for the young people. A similar account (Karabinas, et al. 1996) is offered by an evaluation of The Craigmillar Youth Challenge, a one-off summer activity programme in 1994 run jointly by the local Community Education Service and Police in the Craigmillar area of Edinburgh. Funded by the police as a crime reduction strategy it was regarded as particularly successful notwithstanding its relatively high cost. In the following two years a group of young men who had had some involvement in the project were able to sail with Ocean Youth Club; initially on the West coast of Scotland and later on one leg (Barbados to Panama) of a round-the world voyage.

There are numbers of other 'commonsense' practitioners' accounts, most of which are straightforwardly descriptive. (Scrope 1987) is typical, describing a North Sea crossing from Essex to Norway in a 45' yacht by a group of Essex schoolchildren 'who had just completed their 16+ examinations'. Few details are given and the account focusses on skills and knowledge, referring to working as a team, seasickness, cold weather and living in close quarters. Pride and self respect are described as key outcomes, and the article includes an unsubstantiated and questionable claim that this was 'the most

ambitious sailing expedition ever attempted by a single group of schoolchildren from Essex'. The internal publications of sail training organisations offer many similar descriptive accounts. Such material provides useful evidence of beliefs about the benefits of participation but consistently lacks any real critical distance from the practices described.

To conclude this exploration of the context of contemporary UK sail training, it is important to emphasise two key themes. Firstly that notwithstanding any other finding, the seafaring dimension of these practices, in its historical, cultural and technical senses is absolutely central to any serious understanding of the field. Going to sea is a profound and powerful experience as well as being embedded in this complex discourse. Secondly that there is no single, consensual view of the purpose and meaning of sail training. It is contested and contestable, and debates about the relative merits of different sizes and types of vessels or voyage length take place within an arena, not always acknowledged, of ideological difference. The expression of these differences is most readily understood through an exploration of the range of sail training organisations and the traditions or ideologies they represent. It is to such an exploration that I now turn.

Chapter 4: UK Sail Training Organisations - Traditions, Values and Purposes

The main arguments of the thesis are that sail training expresses and pursues ideological purposes, and that it is the character of the institutional enclosure offered by a vessel at sea that is most significant in the achievement of those ends. The range of different traditions and organisations involved in providing sail training experiences demonstrate a differentiated range of purposes, both in respect of their consciously expressed intentions and in respect of implicit beliefs about the desirability of particular social goals. This chapter uses historical and survey data to explore both the practices and purposes of the selected case-study organisations, and to highlight the different kinds of claims made regarding the benefits to young people of participation. These claims of benefit are important both as one of the starting points for the fieldwork described in the later chapters, and as expressions of purpose.

In mapping the field a key distinction is that made between sail training organisations and *sailing schools*, which set out to provide courses and programmes, usually on a commercial basis, for people who wish to develop or acquire skills and knowledge in sailing and seamanship at various levels. There are several hundred sailing schools around the UK coasts ranging from small operations with a single boat and one instructor, to substantial ventures with large fleets of boats of different types and numbers of staff. Sail training organisations do not for the most part strongly emphasise the acquisition of seamanship skills and knowledge. Most are recognised as teaching establishments by the Royal Yachting Association, which endorses sailing schools in the UK, and it would be wrong to suppose that participation in a sail training voyage will not result, for many participants, in the acquisition of some technical knowledge and skill. The essential difference however is that sailing schools emphasise the teaching of sailing whereas sail training organisations are pursuing social objectives, and the learning of sailing, when it happens, is a by-product rather than a central intention.

There are some two dozen organisations in the UK concerned with sail training in one way or another, operating more than thirty vessels between them. A broad definition could include such as The Island Cruising Club on the basis of its membership of ASTO⁴, although it is more properly understood as part of the sailing school category. Alongside organisations operating their own vessels are several sponsoring bodies such as the West Midlands Sail Training Trust which does not run vessels but raises funds to sponsor the costs of young people's participation in sail training generally, or the Dundee based Moncur Trust which sponsors participation in a range of experiences, including sail training, by young people who are identified as disadvantaged in some way. This chapter is concerned specifically with those organisations that operate sail training vessels. It is concerned with their histories, with the variety of their approaches, their purposes assumptions and values, and with the nature and range of claims regarding the benefits of participation.

What follows is mainly based on a survey undertaken during 1998-99, which was described in Chapter 2. A range of information regarding their history, practices and values was collected from all known UK STOs, using published documentation, correspondence and, in some cases one or more telephone or face-to-face interviews with staff and / or board members or their equivalents. The cases for more detailed scrutiny were subject to more extensive investigation, using additional documentary sources and multiple interviews with present and previous board members in two cases and with a range of staff in each case.

Three key arguments are developed throughout the chapter. Firstly that the purposes and practices characteristic of different traditions express different views of the world. These purposes are evident in the style, methods and in aspects of the organisation of sail training such as the ways in which authority is understood and exercised. The different 'traditions' are to be understood as ideal types in the sociological sense (Weber 1949)

⁴ ASTO – The Association of Sea Training Organisations. A UK 'umbrella organisation' for sail training.

These traditions are evident in the character of different organisations and their practices. Secondly it is argued that contemporary sail training expresses social values. It reflects and adapts to social change, and it can be understood as reflecting dominant trends in the wider social context. This is evident in relation to issues such as the construction of relationships between adults and teenagers, changing constructions of social class and gender, and understandings of social order as expressed through approaches to order and discipline aboard ship. Claims in respect of the benefits of participation are examined in terms of their explicit purpose of expressing educational objectives, as reflecting social change, and as revealing ideological positions.

Finally, and notwithstanding the conservative impulse evident in much of the practice, it is argued that the purposes that may be served by sail training are contestable. Although there are dominant ideologies space exists for practices that challenge dominant approaches to questions of power, authority and social organisation. This argument is developed more fully in the closing chapters, but is introduced here in juxtaposition to the dominant values in order to demonstrate the tension between differing conceptions of purpose. The chapter is organised mainly around the 'traditions' of sail training, examining case-study organisations in some detail, with a concluding section which considers questions of purpose and values more generally.

The Tall Ship Tradition

The first sail training tradition to be considered is connected very directly to the events described in the previous chapter in relation to the beginnings of international Tall Ships races in the 1950s. The first Tall Ships races brought together a variety of types and sizes of vessels from more than a dozen European countries and were motivated partly by the movement towards post-war reconciliation. The prime movers in this included a number of retired and senior naval officers, whose collective vision of sail training seems to have been constructed around the model of a square-rigged naval vessel, with a disciplined crew of twenty or more under the supervision of a group of officers and experienced seamen. This tradition has strong roots in the practices and attitudes of the

sailing navy, but to label it simply as a naval tradition is to deny other significant features. The categorisation of this tradition as 'Tall Ship' rather than naval is intended to express that diversity. It can be seen most clearly in the practices and development of the Sail Training Association, and of the Sea Cadet Corps.

The STA has its offices at No 2a The Hard, Portsmouth. It is physically as close as could be, without being inside, to the entrance to the historic Naval Dockyard where Nelson's *Victory*, the first ironclad warship *HMS Warrior* and the recovered remains of the *Mary Rose* are displayed as national icons of seafaring, naval traditions and 'Britishness'. It is a location of considerable symbolic power, establishing through setting alone a sense of connection with significant historical images. The Royal Navy of the Napoleonic era is almost tangibly present in the architecture of the area, the names of local pubs (some at least 200 years old) and the visible masts of historic vessels. A physical move of only a few yards would place the STA's office inside the boundary wall of the dockyard. There is no specific evidence for the view that the decision to locate the offices where they are was consciously driven by this proximity. It does however offer a powerful metaphor for the STA's relationship to the Royal Navy and by implication to the state. It is outside but only just; it is easy for those on either side of the dockyard wall not only to see what one another are doing, but also to - literally as well as metaphorically - cross the road and talk.

The Sea Cadet Corps, with a nice symbolic consistency, have their national offices just across Portsmouth harbour from the STA, within the boundaries of the naval shore establishment *HMS Dolphin*. The Sea Cadets describes itself as 'a voluntary youth organisation jointly sponsored by its parent charity, the Sea Cadet Association, and the Ministry of Defence'. Its expressed aim is 'to offer young people a sense of pride and a sense of values based on the traditions of the Royal Navy, without being a pre-service organisation' (Sea Cadets 2000). At the beginning of 2001 the Sea Cadets claimed to have 400 units throughout the UK and a total of 16,000 Cadets. The organisation is a little coy about its relationship with the Royal Navy. Its publicity claims that 20 percent of new recruits embarking on careers in the Royal Navy have been Sea Cadets, but

repeats the assertion that ‘the movement is not primarily a pre-service organisation’ throughout these documents.

Sea Cadet Units are known as Training Ships despite being land based. There is a clear link in this formulation with the 19th century naval sail training tradition described by Phillipson (1996), and the relationship between traditional naval and contemporary sail training traditions is clearly evident. The organisation operates a modest fleet including two power driven vessels, a 45 foot modern sailing yacht and the brig *Royalist*, one of the smaller square rigged vessels anywhere in the world, 75 feet LOD⁵, carrying 24 trainees. Launched in 1970 during the main expansionist period of UK sail training, *Royalist* is the size of (and is painted to somewhat resemble) one of the smallest naval vessels of the Napoleonic era. The operation of this vessel by the Sea Cadet Corps clearly demonstrates the link between naval traditions and the contemporary tall ship tradition in sail training. It is the nearest manifestation in UK practice to the traditions of sail training as professional preparation. Sea Cadets also seem often to be supported or at least encouraged to participate in voyages with other providers, particularly but not only with the STA.

It can be claimed with some justification that the use of large square rigged vessels is the essence of the tall ship tradition. One informant expressed the matter in these terms:

The big argument in sail training is, as I understand it, and it’s not resolved, is between a big square-rigged boat where everyone gets the thrill of going aloft, and it’s spectacular, it looks fantastic [and smaller vessels]... But you have a big crew so you don’t get much personal attention, character building wise, whatever. If you don’t, if you want to drop out you can, and you don’t get much responsibility. (Boat Manager, Shaftesbury Homes and *Arethusa*, Interview 1999)

For the first thirty years of its life the STA relied on two vessels rigged as ‘topsail schooners’ carrying square sails on the foremast and fore-and aft sails on all three masts.

⁵ LOD – length over deck: the measurement of a vessel ‘from stem to stern’ excluding any projecting spars. Distinguished from LOA – length over all - which includes (for example in the case of *Royalist*) the bowsprit or other projections.

This is an uncommon arrangement, and the particular implementation was very unusual. The particular features of this rig are considered in Chapter 5, and it is sufficient to say here that these square sails are only of limited usefulness as working sails. It would be overstating the case to say that the square sails on these vessels were only there 'for show', but not by very much. Informants within the STA have acknowledged the technical shortcomings of the design and it is no surprise that their new vessels conform much more closely to conventional conceptions of square rig.

There is no easy correlation between the size of vessels and the tradition within which they operate. It is true to say that larger vessels will be more likely to fit within the 'tall ship' tradition where trainees are in one sense there to serve the vessel. A square rigged ship of even modest size needs a significantly larger and more regimented crew to conduct any sailing manoeuvre, and it is the number and organisation of trainees that is crucial. The tall ship tradition is only partly about particular sailing technologies. The essence is to be found in the size of the crew and in the style of organisation. As will be argued later, numbers of trainees are a crucial element in the distinctive experiences offered. It is not possible unequivocally to specify a minimum number of trainees required for an authentic tall ship culture, but it is probably around 18 or 20. Smaller numbers than about 15 can still be organised in the disciplined and routinised style characteristic of tall ships, but as numbers rise practical considerations, even straightforward matters such as feeding everyone, create an imperative for more formal organisation.

In respect of purpose I have focussed specifically on the STA as representing the Tall Ship tradition in the UK. The organisation describes its purpose in terms of helping young people learn about themselves, their capabilities and an awareness of others. The former chief executive of the STA described the purpose in the following terms:

Basically we're in the business of breaking patterns, both psychologically and physically, in giving people an unusual challenge. Obviously young people between 16 and 24 are at a malleable age, particularly 16, 17, 18. Our peak age group is 17, and then it curves off again, so the chance to as it were break the pattern of conventional behaviour, get youngsters out of their peer groups and

subject them to a certain amount of creative stress, is what we are doing. I wouldn't use it generally but we offer deprivation of a sort, really. (Director STA, Interview 1998)

STA publicity materials express purpose with an emphasis on positive and attractive features of the experience, including both the challenging adventure dimension and the (positive) evaluations of previous participants. Considerable stress is placed on the peculiar environment of a ship at sea, in terms of its uniqueness and the unpredictability of the sea. It is claimed that 'the experience will implant the idea that enthusiastic co-operation under competent leadership is not only a tolerable way of dealing with life's problems but can be positively exhilarating' (STA 2000). The same material stresses values of co-operation among human beings, and the need to 'overcome short term apparent self-interest where it clashes with the common good of the group'. There are also references in several interviews to the importance of individuals subordinating their personal preferences and needs to the demands of the vessel as a whole or as a community.

Much is also made of the bringing together of young people from different backgrounds. Several informants spoke of the benefits of bringing together, stereotypically, a public schoolboy and a young offender. For example:

You can put an Etonian up there and someone from the probation service, probably those two are going to learn the most, because they're coming from extremes if you like, they'll learn the most about each other. I think someone who's been to boarding school benefits slightly less because they've already got some of the corners knocked off them, our experience is it still has a beneficial effect. (Sir Robin Knox-Johnston, President STA, Interview 1999)

Or:

It's a matter of living together, and so a boy who has been a prefect at public school for instance, will suddenly realise that he gets seasick, and he is tired, this, that and the other. And a fellow who has perhaps been a borstal lad will realise that he's not worthless but in fact he has leadership qualities and so - it's a huge balance. (Board Member STA, Interview 1998)

These and other informants are clearly talking about social class although some circumlocution is often evident in the effort to avoid using language that specifically

refers to class. 'Background', 'walk of life', 'circumstances' and 'privilege' are some of the commoner terms used to code references to social class. In these informants' accounts the juxtaposition of the stereotypical public schoolboy and young, implicitly working class, offender, is a very common feature and seems to have a special significance. It is particularly evident in the STA but is not limited only to organisations in the Tall Ship tradition.

The phrase 'up there' in the first of the two extracts above is also particularly telling. A feature that distinguishes the experience of trainees in the Tall Ship tradition very powerfully is the opportunity or requirement to 'work aloft'. In a square-rigged vessel the stowing and loosing of sails demands the involvement of crew members climbing the rigging and handling the sails. Informants from within the STA consistently suggested this aspect as being one of the most important features of sail training in this tradition. In relation to the replacement of the STA's topsail schooners, which was in process during the survey, the decision to adopt a more uncompromising traditional square rig design was taken apparently quite early on. In the words of one informant this decision was motivated at least in part by 'what the young people tell us they want'.

Several informants have described a change that took place in the shipboard culture of the STA during the 1980s as a change from a Royal Navy to a Merchant Navy culture. It is said that during the 1960s and 1970s trainees were treated more impersonally, discipline was more severe and authority more sharply defined. This was said to be characteristic of the Royal Navy tradition. Several explanations have been offered for that supposed change, including the changing composition of the governing body with fewer retired admirals and more distinguished merchant navy officers coming on the scene. Another explanation is in terms of market conditions and what trainees are prepared to accept in terms of discipline and atmosphere. It is claimed that in the economic climate of the turn of the century, participation in sail training has become much more of a lifestyle choice, compared by one informant with other kinds of holiday. An important dimension of this explanation concerns the change from boys only to mixed-sex voyages. A transitional stage that emerged quite early on, in the 1970s, was

the introduction of occasional all-female trainees' voyages. Mixed-sex crews are now the norm although single-sex voyages still remain in the programme.

Purpose in the Tall Ship tradition emphasises three features. These concern respectively the subordination of individuality, social class, and the exercise of authority. Firstly there is the matter of self-interest versus the requirements of the collectivity. This is evident to some extent in claims about the purposes in all traditions, but is particularly emphasised in the Tall Ship tradition. The particular formulation of size and type of vessel with the required number of trainees seems to be thought to create a climate that permits or even necessitates an important degree of subjugation of individuality.

Secondly there is the treatment of social class and the emphasis on creating a 'social mix'. This might simply be taken at face value, but it is more convincing to see this as evidence of a powerful conservatism. The voices and accents of the informants from the Board and senior staff of the STA (and, it must be said many other sail training organisations) convey a strong impression of white, male, public school educated, 'establishment' or ex-military origins. It is by no stretch of the imagination representative of the kind of social mix that is claimed as a value for sail training. The creation of the social mix aboard may be understood as more about providing the working class 'lads' – for gender is also highly significant here - with an opportunity to learn respect for established authority than arising from some kind of liberal mutuality.

Authority in this tradition is very clearly distributed within the organisation of the ship, with strategic decisions taken and implemented by the Master and senior officers, with little if any input from trainees. Indeed although trainees are required to carry responsibility, for example as lookouts or for one another's safety when working aloft or on deck, they have little opportunity to contribute to decision making at even the most trivial level. Even decisions about when to sleep or eat are largely outside individuals' control, with the routinisation of life one of the most striking features of life aboard an STA vessel. Authority and the hierarchy of the ship are made visible and explicit through the wearing of uniform clothing. Trainees, watch leaders and all the staff have

their own distinctive signifiers of position in the hierarchy and although these may not be continuously visible they implicitly structure all relationships.

Purpose is much less clear in relation to gender and it is in this respect that some of the most powerful evidence of the practices of sail training changing to reflect the wider world is to be found. A striking representation of gender is found in a photograph (Hamilton 1988 :67) of '*The crew of Sir Winston Churchill waiting to welcome HM The Queen at Newcastle in 1986*'. Four young men dressed in naval ratings' uniforms (probably sea cadets) are standing alongside seven young women dressed uniformly in white skirts below knee length, and dark tops carrying a large logo of the vessel and her name. Behind these women a further half-dozen or so young men are visible, wearing dark shirts. A number of interpretations are possible but the most convincing seems to concern the ways expectations and relationships are expressed through dress. The women in this picture, unlike the men, are not dressed appropriately to work aloft at a moment's notice. They are dressed not as women sailors themselves but as sailors' women. During the 1980s some important transitions were nevertheless taking place in respect of gender at sea; women were beginning to establish their legitimate place aboard but were still being expected, in the Tall Ship tradition, to conform to a feminine stereotype. By the beginning of the 21st century the STA while still heavily influenced by a white male establishment, has appointed its first woman chief executive and has had a woman Master (Captain) commanding one of the vessels since the late 1990s. It seems clear that in relation to sail training Cook's analysis of gender in outdoor education applies with equal force. 'As outdoor education expanded in the 1960s, it seemed that although girls were increasingly given equal access to outdoor education, they were absorbed into courses designed for boys. It seems outdoor education generally reflected wider social assumptions about gender rather than challenged them.' (Cook 2001, 50).

It is also important to note that the face of sail training is predominantly white, in respect of participants, practitioners and policy makers. Only one of the 143 trainees encountered in the fieldwork was black, and I have never sailed with a black person as a

member of staff in over 38 voyages. I know of (but have never met) one black person working in the field. A number of organisations used images of young black and Asian men and women in their publicity material, suggesting that this is recognised as an issue that sail training organisations would like to be seen as addressing. The evidence from the fieldwork suggests that black participation in sail training is marginal at best, and the lack of evidence of black or other ethnic minority representation among practitioners and policy makers is very strong. This is not an issue that was considered at any length in the study but is clearly important and will require attention both in further research and in policy development.

Traditions are complex and multi-faceted, and a straightforward characterisation of any tradition as an ideology might be challenged as over simplified. Nevertheless there are sufficient distinctive values to be able to claim that the Tall Ship tradition expresses a conservative and authoritarian ideology. The rigid hierarchy, the wearing of uniforms, the downward flow of decisions and the close association with the State, national identity and the armed services are all indicative of such an overall orientation.

The Leisure Yachting Tradition

In terms of numbers of vessels, organisations and participants the leisure yachting tradition is the dominant strand in UK sail training. Perhaps two-thirds of all the vessels in operation can be understood as falling within the tradition originating with the London Sailing Project and the Ocean Youth Club. These early innovators used their own or their families' yachts to pursue their particular vision of sailing opportunities for young people. These vessels were traditional wooden yachts, rigged in a traditional style with gaff sails and very simple accommodation. Chris Ellis' boat *Theodora* was a Bristol Channel Pilot Cutter, converted into a yacht able to accommodate twelve young people and four staff. *Duet* on the other hand was an Edwardian 'gentleman's yacht' with space for a rather more restricted crew of eight trainees and two staff. Technically these were quite demanding vessels to operate, with heavy traditional rigs requiring a lot of effort and co-ordination in hoisting, setting and stowing sails.

Subsequently a range of different types of vessel was used by the OYC, with a shift evident from quite early on to more modern designs. During the 1960s various vessels were purchased, sold, borrowed or chartered. No single design or type was apparently favoured and this might be characterised as a period of experimentation. In 1968 OYC appointed Geoffrey Williams who had just won the single-handed Transatlantic Race as Director of Development. At the time of the appointment Williams also loaned the Club his race-winning boat *Sir Thomas Lipton* which with some remodelling of her interior was then used as part of what was by now a fleet of six vessels (Ocean Youth Club 1985).

Williams was an influential figure. As a successful single handed Trans-Atlantic racing yachtsman he was recruited into OYC to raise funds and develop this new purpose built fleet. Before his rise to fame he had taught for a number of years during the 1960s in a private school in New York, where he had spontaneously developed a sail-training element in the curriculum

I was teaching in a rather unusual school in New York. ... We had some very unusual boys, it was a very expensive school, up on E 98th Street, on the Park, and we had some very wealthy young boys. ... We had people from politics, show business, the United Nations, very very wealthy and they'd be brought to school each morning in stretch limos, flunkies in and out, so they were from very privileged backgrounds. I was interested in the idea of sail training and hired or chartered a boat in the Caribbean and charged these youngsters what I thought was an astronomic sum to take them sail training, because I'd read about it in this country, the Sail Training Association, didn't know about the Ocean Youth Club then.

These were kids who couldn't tie their own shoelaces you know, the valet did that sort of thing for them. These were kids who were very spoilt, not for love but for material comforts, anyway. So I was seeing them in the classroom, and seeing how they performed on the boat and then seeing them in the classroom again, and you know a dramatic difference I thought. They grew up and I saw new sides to their personality and gain confidence et cetera. So that's what excited me for the idea, of, long term, getting involved in sail training. I didn't think about it much until on the Transatlantic race about day 20 or so I thought well what are we going to do next, and I started thinking about it again then. When I won the race I was in a good position to go to large companies and bang the table and say look this club needs X. (Geoffrey Williams. Director OYC 1970-76, Interview 1998)

In an elegant closure of a historical link, Williams recounted in the same interview how he taught (and took sailing) two grandsons⁶ of R.H.Dana, whose *Two Years Before the Mast* (Dana 1996) has already been cited as contributing to the emergence of a popular view of seafaring as a learning experience.

In 1970 the Ocean Youth Club began a programme of boatbuilding which in respect of vessel design formed the foundation for much that has occurred subsequently. These were the now-legendary Robert Clark Ketches, purpose designed for sail training in this tradition. These vessels were 72' long overall, with twelve trainee or 'crew' berths in the fore part, a central saloon placed low down in the centre of the vessel, a small cabin for the skipper and additional staff berths under the side decks below the cockpit area.

I was very interested in the graph of length as a function of cost, as a function of the number of young people that would be carried, as a function of how they would pay for the skipper's annual costs. With Robert [Robert Clark, Naval Architect] we did a number of graphs of larger and smaller boats, and the size we came up with. Twelve seemed like the maximum number for a skipper and volunteer mate at that time to deal with, comfortably - not comfortably but that's stressing them enough anyway. It seemed that once we went to a bigger boat, the economics weren't so good as at this size, and went to a smaller boat, wasn't enough people on board to pay for the skipper's annual salary and running costs. At that time the studies we did, that seemed to be the sort of optimum size. (Geoffrey Williams, Interview 1998)

The vessel was designed to accommodate that optimum number of participants and as a concept it appears robust. Ten Robert Clark ketches were built between 1970 and 1976 and although the construction method was such that their lives were not long, several are still in commission as Sail Training Vessels both in the UK and overseas. One of the last to remain in service with OYC was *Taikoo*, named at the request of the Hong Kong shipping company who had sponsored her original construction. In the early 1970s such vessels would have been recognised as representing good contemporary design. While

⁶ Williams described them as 'the Dana boys - Two Years Before the Mast - his grandchildren. Yes, two terrific boys.' Given that these were teenagers in the 1960s and that RH Dana died in 1882 at the age of 67 it seems more plausible that they were great-grandchildren.

conservative in some respects they incorporated some innovative features, most notably in the method of construction employed (glass-reinforced plastic over a foam 'core') which although offering many advantages did not prove to be tremendously durable. These were, in 1970, the largest glassfibre construction vessels being series-produced anywhere in the world.

The size of vessel used, or more exactly the numbers of staff and trainees carried are central in the leisure yachting tradition. Four to twelve trainees and two to five or occasionally six staff are claimed to provide an environment that can facilitate the transition, over a short period, from a group of strangers to a tightly bonded group. Vessels as small as 10m/35ft in length may be used but the commonest size is about 22m/72ft. A number of larger vessels, particularly those converted from other uses, have also adopted the same approach, even when the space aboard could have been arranged to accommodate larger numbers without difficulty.

This concept of a sail training yacht has been widely adopted. The concept represented by the Robert Clark Ketch has, in terms of the number of trainees and in many cases the general layout of vessels been adopted by around one third of all UK sail training organisations. Analysis of all known organisations and their vessels shows this to be the dominant model both in terms of the number of vessels operated and the numbers of trainees who take part. At its peak in the mid 1980s the Ocean Youth Club alone claimed to be taking some 4000 young people to sea each year. Numerical data is difficult to develop in such a diverse field but at the beginning of the 21st century an estimate of somewhat less than five thousand participants per year in the UK is reasonable; of these probably four fifths have their experience with an organisation and a vessel demonstrably operating within the leisure yachting model.

Right from the start an apparently similar impulse to mix young people from different social class groups as described in relation to the Tall Ship tradition was evident. There is some evidence however suggestive of a somewhat different end being in view. Chris Ellis, the founder of the Ocean Youth Club, had died at the end of 1997, but an interview

with his daughter, herself professionally involved in sail training, elicited the following observations:

One of the huge things he learned in the war was how important the workers are, the artisans and the people that hold it all together, they don't have the status of the officers and they're often ignored, but the skill behind the scenes was phenomenal. [...] I don't think dad really believed in classes, he believed in people if that makes sense, he believed in the human spirit, and he believed that people wherever they came from if they were prepared to go out and have a good time and so on, that's what mattered to him, it didn't matter what class they were from. He was always very very keen on the sort of working classes because he believed that, he worked very hard to try and give them an opportunity. He ran a support group on the Island (Isle of Wight) for a while and really tried to get some local kids who really had never had that opportunity, he tried very hard to get, to give them the opportunity, to get them involved. (Emma Ellis, Interview 1998)

This is suggestive of a somewhat different view of the purpose of mixing social classes than that offered in relation to the Tall Ship tradition. There is a widely held view that during the Second World War conditions were created, in the services, whereby aristocratic privilege was undermined and the historic construction of social class began to unravel. According to Crosland, in George and Wilding (1993, 77) 'The capitalist class lost its dominance in society' at the end of the War, with the landslide election of 1945. In such an analysis one can interpret the work of Ellis and Courtauld as motivated by their wartime experiences. The political values expressed were clearly liberal rather than socialist but these men were very clearly working in a post war atmosphere of social change. Aspects of practice and approach considered in the following chapters reflect these distinctive purposes

There is clearly some common ground between these first two traditions in respect of purpose. The shipboard routines of watchkeeping and the rotation of domestic tasks employed aboard the STA schooners were modelled, according to Hamilton, on the practices developed by the London Sailing Project:

The STA schooners came in 1966, in fact their whole routine on board, they don't realise it, but it's based on the London Sailing Project routine, but converted to a big sailing ship. The first year, every watch leader on the STA

schooner Sir Winston Churchill was a London Sailing Project watch leader. (John Hamilton Board Member STA, Interview 1998)

The early practices of OYC also had a somewhat more regimented character than today, with somewhat greater emphasis than is seen in contemporary practice on authority and routine.

The ideal crew is a team in which everyone plays his part cheerfully. This team is divided into two or three watches each of which is itself a team. Before the voyage commences, a watch bill should be put up in the saloon showing everyone's duty for each hour of the day of the entire voyage. (Ellis, 1966) quoted in Ocean Youth Club (1985)

Notwithstanding these shared origins, the practices of such organisations as the LSP and OYC steadily diverged from those of the STA. The use of first names was normal from an early stage:

We actually recently had a reunion of about 70 people that sailed with Dad in the 50s and 60s, ... Dad very strongly during that time formed the opinion that it was really important to mix people up, and he was very keen on mixing people from different backgrounds, different walks of life, and also very keen that people should be equals, you know the adults should get as much out of this as the kids. It would be first names and not surnames, you know everybody would come and have fun and learn mutual respect and teamwork and those sorts of things. (Interview, Emma Ellis 1998)

This contrasts with the culture of the STA where evidently the use of first names between staff and trainees was unusual⁷ until relatively recently.

It is also evident that in this tradition a greater emphasis is placed on participants' enjoyment of the experience, on the leisure and pleasure dimension. One revealing piece of evidence emerged when I visited the OYC offices in early 1998 as part of the survey. Sitting in the meeting room that had been loaned to me to conduct interviews and review some documents, I was next door to the office of the person who dealt with marketing for the Club's southern region. With both doors open I was intrigued to hear her, talking

⁷ Some accounts even have STA trainees being addressed by their 'number' (a feature of the watch system) rather than by name. It is not entirely clear whether this was ever widespread and consistent or only an occasional occurrence..

on the telephone to potential participants, repeatedly describing what was being offered as 'our holidays'. The experience was being represented not as education, nor as adventure but as a leisure experience.

Documents from and interviews with staff and board members of OYC revealed a somewhat different emphasis. By contrast with the Tall Ship tradition where trainees play a fairly circumscribed role in operating the vessel, learning only a limited range of tasks, smaller numbers of trainees in a training yacht have the chance to explore a much wider range of activities and knowledge:

The other thing that I think is very important for people sailing with Ocean Youth Club is they actually get the chance to do everything on the boat. We don't set out to teach people to sail, as a sea school, but it would be unusual for people that are interested not to have the opportunity to actually take part in all the activities on board. In fact for us to encourage them to return as mates and actually take part in the running of the vessel from the other side, if they have the time and the ability to do that. (Fleet Operations Manager, OYC, Interview 1998)

Finally, and in an expression of what has been described as the social democratic tradition in youth work (Butters and Newell 1978), the leisure yachting tradition in contemporary practice places considerable emphasis on young trainees involvement in decision making aboard. It would be commonplace to find that at several stages in a voyage the staff and trainees would spend time all together discussing 'the plan'. There are always external constraints to be taken into account but it is common for trainees' wishes, preferences and enthusiasms to have an immediate influence on the planning of a voyage both on a day-to-day basis and more strategically. This feature which is (albeit in a limited sense) giving higher levels of control and authority to trainees is, in contemporary practice a further distinguishing feature of this tradition. It is an expression of what was described above as a pluralist approach to citizenship education, citizenship being expressed as arising from membership of the ship's company.

The Personal and Social Development Tradition

Personal and social development is the newest strand in the development of sail training, with origins in the parallel emergent fields of youth work and adventure education. Key

features are a focussed concern with individuals, and the emphasis on systematic reviewing of the ongoing experience. It has emerged into the sail training world from the outdoor development training model described by Loynes (1990), and from the conceptions of reviewing expressed by Priest and others (Gass and Priest 1993; Priest 1996). Reviewing is salient in the rhetoric but there is some uncertainty as to how widely it has been, in practice, adopted by outdoor educators during the last two decades.

Personal and Social Development is not primarily a maritime tradition. Smith refers to *personal and social development* alongside *welfaring* as two professionalised traditions in Youth Work, concerned to provide young people with structured, participative and developmental experiences. Smith argues that the personal and social development tradition in youth work emphasises development or improvement, and that it involves professionalised conceptions of role and theory. A contrast is offered with the leisure tradition which emphasises ‘everyday conceptions’ and is ‘based largely upon competence or involvement in a particular area of activity’ (Smith 1988 , 55). The distinction between the leisure yachting and personal and social development traditions in sail training is derived from this analysis.

The PSD tradition is evident in a number of sail training contexts. Though operating within the mainstream of the leisure yachting tradition, organisations such as, for example The Faramir Trust or The Morning Star Trust emphasise the potential of their work to provide benefits for people who are unemployed or have been involved in crime or drug use. The Jubilee Sailing Trust run two vessels specially equipped to facilitate the participation of people with disabilities. Mixed crews of disabled and non-disabled trainees are recruited and the focus is firmly on the creation of opportunities for participation by the disabled trainees.

A similar emphasis is also evident in the practices of Ocean Youth Trust Scotland who have long-standing relationships with a number of educational, social work and health care agencies who use participation in sail training aboard OYTS’s vessel as part of their

programmes. The STA has a number of similar partnerships that facilitate participation by specific groups. Examples include the work with the Humberside Probation Service referred to earlier, and with projects working with unemployed young adults. Practices and concerns characteristic of the personal and social development tradition are present in particular 'spaces' in the life of organisations which would otherwise be strongly identified with the two main traditions.

A common feature associated with the PSD tradition is the operation of a sail training vessel as a part of a wider programme, within an institutional setting such as a (private) school, Gordonstoun being the best known of several examples. It also emerges as part of a programme such as that of the Fairbridge organisation, where participation in sail training is preceded and followed by a variety of other activities and experiences.

Looking more widely it is evident that this tradition links to sail training in a wide range of ways through the partnerships exemplified above. During the 1980s and '90s it became increasingly common for agencies involved in working with or providing services for young people identified as 'at risk' or as vulnerable in some way, to identify sail training as a potentially valuable element of their work. Initially sail training providers seem to have responded to this interest by simply providing opportunities for participation in their existing programmes and voyages. What has emerged from that is some degree of incorporation. Mainstream sail training organisations have, it may be argued, adopted some of the values and imperatives of personal and social development.

The main case study representing this approach here is Fairbridge. This national charity had one of its origins in Operation Raleigh and a round the world voyage in the square-rigger *Eye of the Wind* in the late 1970s, and operates *Spirit of Fairbridge*, a 92' gaff schooner, designed in the style of a 19th Century Liverpool pilot boat. Originally named *Spirit of Merseyside* she was built in 1985 as a sail training vessel.

There were some people within the directorship of that organisation who felt that the focus should be put on young, disaffected was the word used at the time, disadvantaged youth in Britain. Others felt that the operation Drake should continue and it became Raleigh International. We took the Drake Fellowship name, started in St. Catherine's dock in London, on a Thames sailing barge as a

base, serving the East London community. We then grew very quickly into places like St. Pauls in Bristol, Toxteth in Liverpool (at the time of the riots in the early 1980s) and then out into the rest of the country. The name changes for Fairbridge came about in 1987 (when) the MSC⁸ went down and we lost 70% of our funding. We joined up with another charity called Fairbridge, which (had) sent orphans and waifs and strays away to the colonies. Kingsley Fairbridge, around the turn of the century. That is where that one came from. They found they had a pocket of money that they didn't know what to do with, and they supported one of the teams in London.

Spirit came in in 1985, she was built on Merseyside, originally with the intention of the Ocean Youth Club taking her on, they didn't, we did. She is used by us as a training vehicle, she is not there as a sail training vessel, we don't teach young people to sail however that may be a by-product of what we do. It's round about social skills acquisition, life skills and supporting the core programme we have on land. The core of that work is working with young people who are socially excluded, from key target areas round about the inner city teams we have. (Tom Watson, Scottish Area Manager, Fairbridge. Interview 1999)

The distinctive features of the PSD tradition are the view that sail training is a means to an end rather than more of an end in itself as tends to be the case in both the principal traditions. The emphasis is on the processing of experience through discussion and structured exercises and activities. There is a strong concern with individuals' progress, development and explicit goal orientation. The particular professional focus of practitioners values the skills of group work, counselling and reviewing more prominently than do the principal traditions. There is evidence of a tendency for such values and practices to permeate beyond their origins. It may not be the case that the principal traditions are being 'colonised' by the practices and ideology of personal and social development but, for example, the development of more systematic approaches to 'reviewing' is becoming widespread.

⁸ The Manpower Services Commission – a national government initiative to provide training schemes and programmes for (mainly) young working class males. Davies (1986) offers a critique of these programmes as concerned more with the control of a dangerous population than with the manifest objectives of training for work.

The Professional Yachting Tradition and Professionalisation

There is a highly permeable boundary between the world of sail training and those of sailing instruction, professional chartering and the yachting 'industry' more generally. It is evident in the professional histories of sail training skippers and other staff, and in aspects of their approach and emphasis. Many full time sail training staff move or have moved between these different domains. Examples would be the former Fleet Operations Manager for the old OYT who began a professional sailing career in the PSD tradition, moved to work for several years aboard 'superyachts' in the Mediterranean and Caribbean, and then returned to sail training as a skipper for the then OYC. Another informant became a qualified sailing instructor while serving with the RAF, and was recruited into sail training through a chance encounter. Traffic in the other direction is equally common; the current (2002) Boat Manager for Ocean Youth Trust Scotland became involved in sail training through the OYC's staff training scheme in the early 1990s and worked as a professional skipper doing long distance yacht 'deliveries' and for the Clipper Venture organisation before returning to sail training. Such career histories are commonplace among those working professionally in a wide range of sailing contexts.

The distinctive characteristics of this tradition are its emphasis on technical competence, on the standards of maintenance of vessels and on sailing efficiently. The traditional nautical term 'cracking on', which suggests sailing a vessel to her maximum capacity, always carrying as much sail as is safe, or even a little more than is prudent, nicely characterises this way of being. A sign of the professional yachting tradition in action might be seen in differences in distance sailed. A voyage of a hundred miles or so in a week might be successful in the terms of the PSD tradition, but the professional yachting tradition might tend to value a voyage of two or three hundred miles in the same time more highly. This wider professional yacht sailing tradition has heavily influenced the professionalisation of sail training.

The Ocean Youth Club has had a particularly important role in the history of professionalisation of sail training, and has been in an important sense a main site of the emergence of sail training as a professional field. During the 1980s there was an increasing number of people working full-time as paid skippers and mates. A community of practice began to emerge and systematic approaches to training and assessment of staff (paid and voluntary) developed. The size of the fleet at its peak in the late 1980s and the dominant position of OYC during this time led to the de facto establishment of OYC as the main training provider for sail training staff outside the Tall Ship tradition. It is fairly unusual to meet anyone professionally involved in sail training who has not had some involvement with OYC/OYT vessels, and the exchange of ideas and practices between organisations is now clearly commonplace.

The Historic Vessel Tradition

This category is important in that a number of organisations have had as a key impulse in their genesis, the preservation of a traditional or historic vessel. The practices of sail training organisations using restored traditional vessels are in most respects similar to those derived from the practices of OYC, LSP and their sister enterprises. Most appear to operate within or as a specialised subset of the leisure yachting tradition. This category is well exemplified by the East Coast Sail Trust, which operates *Thalatta*, a 91 foot Thames Sailing Barge which was built at Harwich in 1906 and is now based in Maldon, Essex. *Thalatta* was bought in January 1967 and restored as a Sail Training Vessel by Sailtrust, which later became East Coast Sail Trust. This was a time when the local coastal cargo trade was coming to a close because of the development of better roads and more reliable transport vehicles. She had been in almost continuous use by her last commercial operator for around thirty years on passages from London to Ipswich and other East Coast ports carrying general cargoes of grain and other food stuffs mainly as a motor Barge although she is said to have used some of her sailing rig.

The objectives of the trust are: ‘to preserve a Thames Sailing Barge and to provide five day educational cruises for young people...’ (Brannigan 1998). The ordering of these

objectives is revealing in so far as the preservation of the vessel comes first, and the provision of educational cruises becomes a social justification rather than a starting point in terms of purpose. This emphasis is also expressed in the Trust's brochure, where the vessel herself is the first focus, and the experience and value of participation is set against that. This is in particular contrast with the priority expressed by, for example, Fairbridge or Ocean Youth Trust where the primary focus is invariably on the nature and quality of the experience offered, and the vessel, no matter what her qualities, is the means rather than an end.

About a quarter of UK STOs fall wholly or partially into the historic vessel tradition, including the Excelsior Trust which completed restoration of their eponymous vessel in 1989. The Golden Vanity Trust emerged around the same time and the Mayflower Sail Training Society has operated *Kenya Jacaranda* as a sail training vessel since 1950. This 77 foot gaff rigged ketch is one of the last Brixham sailing trawlers, a distinctive design noted for their sailing qualities. The Swan Trust based in Shetland which restored a sail powered fishing vessel as a STV is one of the newest in this category, having commissioned their vessel *Swan* in the late 1990s. What all of these organisations have in common is a primary focus on the vessel herself, with sail training as a choice made subsequently. One characteristic that betrays this orientation is the frequent decision for such groups to name themselves, as in the case of The Swan Trust, for their vessel. There is an ambiguous boundary between this type of operation and some of the restored traditional vessels operated for charter in UK waters.

At first sight the historic vessel tradition in sail training might seem to be about no more than an exploitation of the positive regard sail training might be expected to attract, to serve the interests of those who wish to maintain old wooden sailing vessels. The claims made within this tradition do however reveal something much more important. What is revealed here, unmediated by the overlay of educational or social purpose, are some important common values, which may be understood as the common culture of seamanship or maritime culture itself. The emphasis is on a robustly practical approach to life and on the need for what I would characterise as 'communal self-reliance' on the

part of a ship's company. This is analytically useful in that expressions of purpose in this tradition illustrate this common culture, untainted by concerns with social purpose. Seafaring in this tradition is quite clearly its own justification.

Claims and Aspirations

The traditions in sail training are united by a range of broadly similar claims for the benefits of participation. Although different traditions place different emphasis on one claim or another, very broadly benefits are thought to be of three main kinds. Firstly there are claims about the nature of the particular experience, particularly the peculiar institutional nature of a ship at sea. The closed boundaries of a modest vessel provide a uniquely intensive residential experience, and most informants refer to the special power of this dimension. Secondly there are claims for the sea itself. The authentic unpredictability of weather and sea conditions mean that often no artifice is required to create situations that demand problem solving or teamwork or dealing with physical challenge. A number of informants contrasted these first two aspects with mountaineering where at all but the highest level it is usually possible to stop, to rest or to go back downhill in a way that is often quite impossible at sea. One might also contrast the authentic requirement to reef or change sails as the wind rises, with the more contrived environment of a 'ropes course' of the kind Rohnke (1989) advocates. Thirdly there are specific kinds of learning, both about oneself individually, what can be endured, what kinds of personal resources might be developed, and to do with being in a group. At its most straightforward this last is expressed as learning teamwork, and would be evident when five or six people working together easily hoist a sail that one or two simply could not.

These claims of benefit are, at face value, quite easy to justify, and as I will show it would be reasonable for sail training organisations to justify much of what they do simply on the basis of claims of this type. The wide support for sail training by education authorities and government, the commitment of thousands of hours of voluntary effort and the donation of private funds in sums from a few pounds to the

million pound costs of new vessels are eloquent evidence of the positive view which is widely held. More importantly however from the point of view of this study, it is important to uncover the ideologies of sail training. What are the assumptions about questions of power, authority and social organisation, so fundamental to the experience of seagoing but rarely explicitly examined?

In the Tall Ship tradition the structured hierarchy, the wearing of uniforms and the manifest symbols of authority reproduce a stratified society in which power and authority are distributed downwards. The claim is that the size of the vessel requires that degree of organisational differentiation for safety and the maintenance of order, but one might well speculate that the model was developed precisely because it could be used to provide those conditions. Decision making capacity in this tradition is entirely removed from the trainees. Indeed as the fieldwork voyage on Sir Winston Churchill revealed, the trainees are entirely subject to the disciplines of watchkeeping, eating and sleeping at strictly regulated times.

It might not immediately be apparent that a Williams and Clark – style vessel with its smaller numbers and less obviously formal hierarchy can convey to participants a very similar set of messages about authority. Without a conscious effort by staff to relinquish some of the power and control that their expertise and role ascribes for them, to the trainees, a fundamental lesson from participation will be obedience to authority. There is some acknowledgement, in the dominant practices of this tradition, of the trainees as active participants and shapers of their experience. It is common for example for trainees to be consulted, and their views incorporated into decisions about the objectives of the voyage. The authenticity of such consultation is often problematic because of differential knowledge and authority but that it exists at all is nevertheless a highly significant difference.

The traditions of social organisation at sea and the undoubted legitimacy of authority with its source in experience, skill and technical knowledge are very powerful, and can often operate as a conservative influence. Maintaining the balance between responsible

concern for the safety and well being of the vessel and all aboard on the one hand, and providing authentic opportunities for trainees to learn autonomously on the other is problematic. A ship at sea can probably never be very democratic but does not inevitably have to be an autocracy of technical expertise. It should be possible for sail trainers to develop practices that authentically offer opportunities to challenge structurally embedded or hegemonic authority whether that is expressed in relation to social class, gender or simply arises from the extent of individuals' experience at sea. The extent to which this is possible and the kinds of strategies that open wider opportunities for learning are important themes.

Finally it is important to offer a brief comment on problems of economic and organisational stability in sail training. During the period of this research, Ocean Youth Trust (originally OYC), the largest UK STO went into liquidation at the end of 1999 and spawned 5 smaller regional successor organisations. At around the same time two medium sized organisations The Cirdan Trust and The Faramir Trust merged elements of their operation as a cost-saving measure. As this chapter was in draft I also learned that *Arethusa* was to detach its sail training activities from the parent charity and pass the vessel to a new Thames-based Ocean Youth Trust⁹. These events might be contrasted with the progress of the Ocean Youth Trust Scotland which from a very uncertain start in October 1999 had, by the AGM in January 2001 achieved a surplus on its revenue account of around 8%. This was however achieved under favourable conditions with an almost new vessel unencumbered either by debt or by major maintenance costs.

It is nevertheless true to say that the political economy of sail training is such as to make stability and continuity problematic. As vessels age they require progressively more

⁹ At the time of finalising this chapter *Arethusa* was reported as being still on the market, the OYT Thames having been unable thus far to raise sufficient funds to take her over.

costly renovation, and despite the comparatively low salary levels¹⁰ the cost of qualified staffing is a major burden. Coupled with a commonly found attitude that ‘the Lord will provide’ or the Micawberish ‘something will turn up’ it is no surprise that the organisational context of sail training in the UK might be aptly described as having many dangerous rocks and shallows, and financial or political winds and tides that can easily destroy all but the most carefully run vessels. The vessels themselves are the essential infrastructure of sail training and the following chapter turns to an examination of the range of different types and the conceptions of purpose expressed through choices of type, design and layout.

¹⁰ Salaries paid to full-time skippers on UK sail training vessels are at Merchant Navy rates for larger vessels. In the Leisure yachting and PSD traditions salaries are comparable with those for teaching and youth work. These workers are very poorly paid by comparison with their peers working as professional crew in the yacht charter or private yachting industry, strongly suggesting that the decision to work in sail training is motivated by factors other than the economic.

Chapter 5: Sail Training Vessels.

The vessels used for sail training both express and shape the practices and values of different approaches and traditions. Decisions about the appropriateness of different types of vessel are multi-dimensional, involving technical questions about safety and operations, economic questions in relation to the numbers of staff and trainees, and value questions about purpose and social organisation aboard. This chapter explores some dimensions of difference central to understanding of the experience of participants in sail training in different traditions. The argument is that there is a dynamic relationship between choices made about the design and selection of types of vessels used for sail training and values or ideology. This relationship is dynamic in the sense that while the design of vessels reflects and implies certain beliefs, in each case, about the nature and meaning of the activities to take place aboard, and about the social relations to be established, it is not in any sense deterministic. Centrally, it is the possibilities and constraints that different types and sizes of vessel offer in relation to domestic and living arrangements, and the ways that the various relationships aboard are thus mediated that must be recognised. A typology of sail training vessels is discussed, and the relationship between traditions or ideologies of sail training, and vessel design is considered.

As the following chapters show, a range of possibilities are open in terms of staff approach, voyage planning, and the exercise of authority which can mediate the experience of trainees independently of the design of the vessel. Particular traditions of sail training have strong associations with particular types of vessel but it is the ways these vessels are used as much as their character as infrastructure that is fundamental. Conceptually these themes emerged first from preliminary observation and were further developed from interviews with practitioners and policy makers and from the main fieldwork. The importance of enclosure, the vessel as a physical container of people is a central theme of the thesis as a whole and in reflecting on the differences found it is possible to identify important common and distinctive features across a range of different types and sizes of vessel.

In an everyday sense it would be almost inconceivable that a study of sail training should not consider the vessels as an important feature. There are also important theoretical justifications for regarding the design or layout of sail training vessels as significant. Mead's discussion of the interdependence of "the organism and the environment" and the relationship between artifacts and practical action (Mead 1934) suggests the importance of the interplay of the physical environment and social action. More directly, Bourdieu's (1973) analysis of *The Berber House* shows the importance of architecture as organising and controlling the use of internal and external space, by the ways spaces are suited to particular predetermined activities. The interior spaces of a sailing vessel may not have quite the symbolic or magical significance described in Bourdieu's analysis but the idea that space constrains and structures action has a much wider application. Lastly Foucault (1991, 143) highlights the significance of space and its division, using the concept of partitioning to describe the division of 'disciplinary space' into sections which can be supervised and controlled separately. Sail training vessels need to be understood not just straightforwardly as technology, but also as social environments susceptible to analyses of the kinds suggested here.

The types of vessel and sailing technologies deployed in UK sail training range from authentic and replica 19th century wooden vessels with traditional rigs on the one hand, to modern steel or glass reinforced plastic constructed boats with sophisticated modern sail and rig technology. In one analysis the modern and traditional sailing rigs can be understood as wholly distinct, without intermediate types, almost as different as horse-drawn and motor vehicles. A more careful examination however reveals that the distinctions are by no means as clear-cut as might at first appear. Nor is there a simple correlation between vessel size and sailing technologies. To distinguish differences two polarities are helpful. Firstly it is useful to consider *simplicity* versus *complexity*. This is a function of the size of vessel, the number of people required to conduct a given manoeuvre or evolution, and the levels of technical skill required. Secondly, a key dimension of difference, and one that has emerged as particularly significant, is the dichotomy between *authenticity* and *artifice*. This refers to the extent to which the

design of sail training vessels' rigs (the masts and sails) are specifically engineered to provide a particular kind of experience. For example, a square rigged vessel might be deliberately chosen to create a *requirement* for "work aloft", or on the other hand an authentic rig might be selected for its intrinsic qualities, and the experience of trainees derived from those authentic qualities rather than from any artifice. These distinctions refer largely to the sailing technology. The third significant aspect of vessel design and construction is that of interior design and accommodation layout. This latter is significant in that it significantly bears on some aspects of the social dynamic of a vessel. The internal layout of a vessel both expresses values, and influences what is possible, in terms of the social relations aboard. Some examples are necessary to explain these differences, and some fairly detailed descriptions of vessels are presented to illustrate the typology.

The 'Classic' Yacht

Taikoo was one of the Williams-Clark 72 Ocean Youth Club ketches, built in 1973. At that time she would have represented in most respects good, modern but not very advanced technology. Yacht design changed relatively slowly between the end of the First World War, when the Bermudan rig became commonplace, and the 1970s when the possibilities offered by newer materials and improving understanding of hydrodynamics began to produce distinctively 'modern' designs. *Taikoo* represents what would be widely recognised as 'classic' yacht design from the end of that period, developed by Clark and Williams to provide the first purpose designed sail training yachts for the Ocean Youth Club and clearly expressing the values and aspirations of the Leisure Yachting tradition.

She carried a Bermudan mainsail and mizzen sail, with a conventional staysail and several different sized jibs for different wind strengths. Bermudan sails are triangular, attached to the mast at their leading edge and to a moveable horizontal spar (the boom) along their foot. The sailing technology might be characterised as 'early modern', with purchases rather than winches to help with sail handling, using a single central winch in

the cockpit to control the powerful loads in the jib sheets. A sheet in this context is a rope used to control and adjust the shape and angle of a sail. A purchase (or tackle) is an arrangement of rope and blocks or pulleys that act to multiply the effort of persons pulling on one end. Finally, a winch is a simple mechanism consisting of a metal cylinder with gearing inside, which again enables a modest effort to be multiplied. When one considers the weight of fabric to be hoisted up a twenty two metre mast, and then to be held under some tension, the need for some multiplying technology is easy to understand. Add to that the expectation that four or five eight stone adolescents should have some reasonable prospect of being able to achieve the setting of this sail, and the significance of the issue begins to become clear.

The layout, technology and materials visible on deck are very much of her era, not so much stainless steel, a bit more galvanised iron than more modern vessels for example. The key difference between Taikoo and more modern boats is her lack of beam for her length. She is relatively narrow, with, in technical language, a long overhang in the counter (the aftermost part of the hull, above the waterline) tapering to a very narrow transom. This is particularly significant in that it determines not only the sailing qualities of the boat, but in relation to the disposition of internal space. On deck the foredeck has an upstanding hatchway forward of the mast, and in front of that about four metres of clear foredeck. The inner forestay carries a staysail with a boom on its foot that swings above the hatchway and is a significant obstruction to movement around the foredeck.

The mainmast stands about six metres back from the bow, and is twenty two metres or so high with two sets of spreaders, short fixed spars which brace the standing rigging to support the upper parts of the mast. There is a space behind the mainmast under the boom where the dinghy is stowed; when the dinghy is on deck it is used for stowage of headsails and various other gear. Going aft there is a raised deckhouse which shelters the companionway coming up from the main saloon. Immediately aft is the doghouse with windows forward and on either side, rather more than two metres wide by barely two long. Aft of that is the cockpit, with the mizzen mast at the front, and the wheel at the after end, which is large enough to sit a full crew of 18 as a single group for meetings

and briefings in harbour or at anchor. There is a short after deck with a hatch leading down to the lazarette where a range of equipment is stored.

The lack of winches to assist with sail hoisting on *Taikoo* places her technology in a transitional position between truly 'modern' rigs with powerful winches to assist in sail hoisting, and 'traditional' rigs with gaff sails using blocks and tackles for hoisting. The Bermudan sail is 'modern', and even in 1972 might reasonably have been expected to have winches associated with it. The use of blocks and tackles however is 'traditional'. This might be understood as representing a degree of artifice, choosing not to use the 'best' technology available in order to create circumstances where a greater reliance is placed on person-power.

There are however extremely compelling arguments for this transitional technology. It is simple, cheap, reliable and easily maintained at sea. It is extremely powerful and permits very precise adjustment. It is easy for novices to learn and easy to use safely. Its only real disadvantage is that all the extra rope up a mast creates a little more aerodynamic drag and some loss of sailing efficiency. A winch is a somewhat different proposition, being less intuitive to use and requiring quite a careful technique for safe use to be learnt. It is vulnerable to rare but dangerous catastrophic failure if not adequately maintained. The careful, regular servicing it requires can really only be done in harbour. On the basis of such compelling arguments *Taikoo's* sailing technology could justifiably be considered as authentic, albeit slightly unusual.

Below decks (see Figure 2), starting from forward, the forepeak extends right up into the bow, and is used for stowage of warps, fenders and the anchor chain. There are two partly separated fore cabins, one, rather narrow, right forward, and another slightly more spacious immediately aft of that. Each of these has two bunks on each side. Just abaft the mast there are two heads (toilet) compartments, one either side. A passageway leads through into the main saloon, in the widest part of the vessel. There are four further bunks in the saloon, offering varying degrees of comfort and privacy. The saloon is perhaps five metres by four overall, including space taken up by the bunks. The after

part on the port side is taken up by the galley, quite a spacious and well laid out facility having been improved at a refit in 1993. On the starboard side there is a large wet locker for the waterproof clothing and various other bits of equipment. Between these two there is a large engine box which forms the bottom of the companionway steps. The saloon table is a permanent fixture, with two leaves, which fold out to accommodate the entire company at mealtimes.

A bulkhead at the after end of the saloon forms the Skipper's cabin, which has room for a good sized bunk, a small desk and some storage. There is also a spare berth on the starboard side. This cabin is a fairly narrow space, the bunks extend under the accommodation aft and the total space including the passage which runs through, is about 5 feet by 12 feet including the bunks themselves. A feature worth noting is the provision of a proper door (the only one other than those on the heads on the vessel) between the Skipper's cabin and the saloon. This creates a physical separation between the spaces occupied by the trainees, forward of the door and the staff aft. This reflects traditional nautical arrangements and is reinforced by language; until the late 1990s when the term 'sea staff' came into use the staff were known as the 'afterguard'.

Next is the doghouse or chartroom, which is raised about two feet above the level of the Skipper's cabin, allowing some vision through the windows. The doghouse has a large chart table on the port side facing forward, chart lockers, various navigation and communications equipment. There are also box benches either side, used for storage of tools and spares in one case, and for a freezer in the other. The floorboards lift up to give access to a large storage space and diesel fuel tank. Under the cockpit and side decks are four rather cramped berths for staff.

Williams - Clark 72' OYC Ketch
 Designed circa 1970
 Length 72'
 Beam 14'
 Draft 8'9"

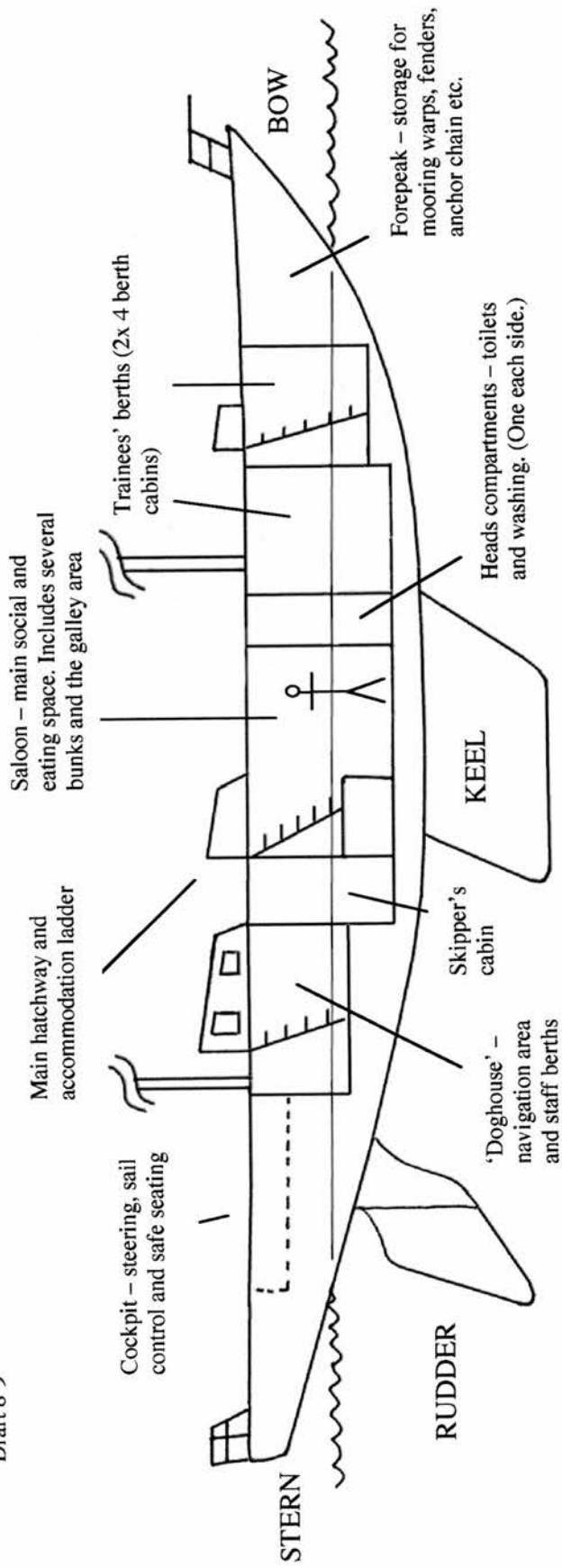


Figure 2
 This vertical, longitudinal section shows the approximate layout of a Williams - Clark 72' OYC Ketch. (Sketch diagram - not to scale.)
 The vertical lines show bulkheads dividing the accommodation. These are, with only one exception partial bulkheads only with no doors or hatches. It is possible to walk straight through from the main hatchway to the forepeak.
 These vessels carried a normal complement of 12 trainees, a skipper and up to 4 further staff. An additional berth (the '18th berth') was available for staff training, guests or supernumary adults.

The division of space in the Williams – Clark ketch is created socially and by action and activity, as well as by physical boundaries. The shape of the hull, narrowing toward either end has an effect on social patterns, as people are to an extent ‘pushed’ into the mid-section of the boat. The saloon is the only inside space just barely large enough to fit 18 people into at once. With the exception of the skipper’s cabin, most spaces have a very permeable boundary between private, semi-private and public space. This is as true for the staff living in the doghouse as for the trainees living in the open forward cabins and the saloon. Surveillance of the entire vessel is easily achieved and the only opportunities for limited privacy are offered physically by the heads compartments and socially through the physical distribution of participants around the available space above and below deck. While at sea trainees are required to enter and leave the accommodation by the main hatch from the saloon. Only in severe weather, when movement on deck is judged more risky, are trainees permitted to use the passage through the skipper’s cabin and the doghouse to the cockpit.

The Topsail Schooner

In relation to sail and rig technology, *Sir Winston Churchill* offers a number of contrasts. Firstly she is much larger, 44 metres length overall, with three masts. The rig is officially described by the STA as a topsail schooner but also, by one key informant (an STA staff member) as ‘a bit of an abortion of a rig’. My own perception of the rig was very illuminating, in that as a fortnight aboard went by the uniquely strange qualities of this ship’s rig became more and more apparent, rather than becoming something that became more familiar over time. The more I looked, the odder it seemed.

SWC carries gaff sails on the fore and main masts. These are traditional sails designed to carry a reasonably large sail area on a modest height of mast. This is achieved by using a spar held up at an angle to the mast (the gaff) to support the upper edge of the sail. The gaff is hoisted and lowered to set or take in (hand) the sail, using two halyards (the ropes

that hoist the sail) as compared to the one halyard on a Bermudan sail. The foremast also carries two square sails, sails that are suspended from horizontal spars (yards or yardarms). These sails and spars are kept permanently aloft, the sails controlled by the use of ropes (clewlines, buntlines, sheets and braces) operated from deck level. They also require people to work aloft in order to release or to secure and stow these sails after unfurling or furling. The two square sails are a 'course' which is the lowest sail and a topsail above that. There is also a small triangular sail called a raffee, which is set above the topsail yard. This last is not stowed aloft and must be hoisted up to the masthead each time it is used.

The foremast also carries a staysail, an inner and outer jibs, which are set from the inner and outer ends of the bowsprit. The foredeck is fairly spacious with quite a bit of room to work; this is where the jib sheets are controlled, using tackles and human power. Each mast has, on each side, a running backstay or runner. These are wire ropes which help to support the masts from behind. They are running as opposed to fixed backstays because they need to be removable to allow the sails to set properly, with only the windward side runner set up, and the leeward runner (on the side away from the wind, where the sails are) slackened and moved forward.

From this description it should be clear that so far as division of labour is concerned this is a complex setting. Three masts have to be tended, two sets of headsail sheets, yard braces for the square sails when they are in use and running backstays all need to be attended to when manoeuvring. There is work for a number of people and quite a complex job of coordination is required. The ship's official Book of Instructions indicates 11 separate orders for a standard tack, the evolution of changing the vessel's heading to bring the wind from one side to the other. These are: (1) stand by to tack; (2) hook on [leeward] runners; (3) helm's a-lee [the rudder has been turned to start the vessel turning]. Then after the bow has turned through the wind: (4) let go [what were the windward] runners; (5) let draw the headsails [release the inner and outer jib sheets and heave in on the other side]; (6) let draw the staysail; (7) let draw jib topsail; (8) set or make up the new windward runners; (9) ease the wheel [bringing the rudder back to

steady the new heading]; (10) brace the yards. The final order is to tack the radar, to swivel the radar scanner so that it is parallel with the sea as the vessel heels on the new tack. It is a complex evolution, not just a simple job using a few people, but a major enterprise.

In respect of authenticity and artifice however there are a large number of features that strongly suggest a high degree of contrivance about the whole arrangement. The whole boat is rigged and set up to require a good deal of person-power. All the sail handling is done using tackles, to hoist the sails and control the sheets and braces. Tackles or purchases are very like the gears of a car, they can be higher geared to produce more speed, or lower geared to produce more multiplication of effort from a given number (or weight) of people pulling on the end. The purchases on the halyards and sheets on SWC are such that they need quite a serious number of people, four or five people on a sheet, half a dozen people on each of two halyards to get the gaff sails up. A simple adjustment to the 'gearing' of the purchases concerned would reduce the numbers required for each of these tasks, and a number of staff informants in STA have freely acknowledged the 'make work' character of the rig.

In respect of artifice the most telling feature of *Sir Winston Churchill* and her sister ship *Malcolm Miller* is the square sails. These are not particularly labour intensive, in that all the sheets and braces are handled from the deck, and only a modest number of people are needed to work them. To loose the sails from stowed does require people to go out on the yard and release the gaskets (short lengths of rope used to tie up the furled sail). In practice the tendency is to send two or three people out on either side of each yard when one each side could probably do the job quite easily. Setting the Raffee involves hauling the sail up from deck level and is quite laborious¹¹. Stowing the sails does need

¹¹ In an authentic 18th or 19th century square-rigger a common practice would be to stow any sails not kept 'bent' (attached) to their spars in the 'tops' (small platforms where the lower and higher mast sections join). In this light the arrangements for the Raffee in SWC might be understood as perhaps a little contrived.

slightly more people particularly in any significant strength of wind. However the extent of the artifice becomes clear when the use of these sails is considered.

Here I return to the strange character of the rig referred to earlier. In a square rigged ship, and indeed in gaff rig the normal arrangement for supporting the mast or masts from the sides is to have one or more fixed ropes (the shrouds) leading from the side of the ship directly to a point on the mast just below the masthead. The squaresail yard is suspended in front of the mast just above this point and can be braced round to either side, conventionally to an angle something like 12 or 15 degrees to the ship's centreline. This allows the sails to be trimmed to allow the ship to sail with the wind from a direction, not directly ahead but 'well forward of abeam' and therefore to make progress to windward by tacking.

Sir Winston Churchill has her masts supported by shrouds of the kind described above. What she also has however is additional 'cap shrouds' going to the top of her very tall upper mast, and held out from the mast by spreaders (fixed horizontal spars) on either side. This is a normal arrangement for Bermudan sails but very unusual for gaff or square rig. The effect of this arrangement is to limit the angle the square sails can be braced to, at best about 30 degrees. Consequently these sails can only be effectively used for sailing downwind, in the manner of a spinnaker (a very large light headsail). Their purpose can therefore be understood as being, principally, to provide an opportunity and requirement for trainees to work aloft.

This is a significant aspect of the Tall Ship tradition. In this example it is however about the most extreme case of artifice in the design of a sail training rig that it is possible to conceive, to rig the vessel for a requirement to work aloft, handling sails which contribute relatively marginally to the sailing effort. Much is made of the claim that sail training provides an environment for 'authentic' adventure experiences, however in this example working aloft to handle the square sails has been set up as something very like the kind of artificially constructed 'individual challenge' (Rohnke 1990) of a 'ropes course'.

STA Topsail Schooner
Designed circa 1962
Length 145'
Beam 25'9"
Draft 15'

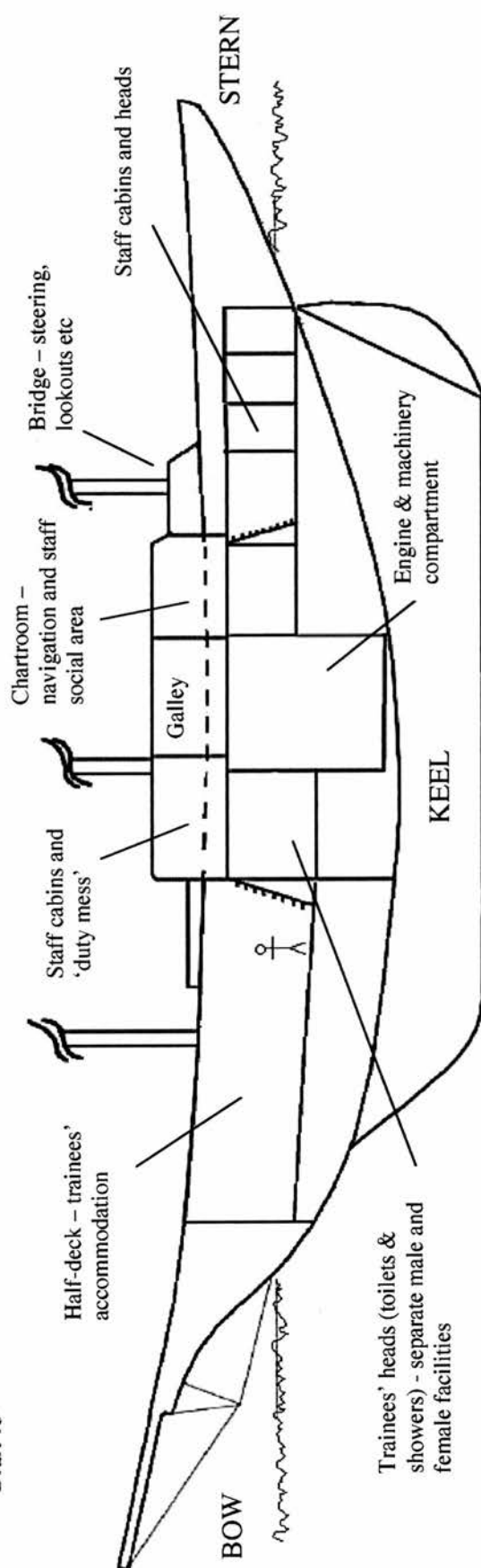


Figure 3

This vertical, longitudinal section shows the approximate layout of an STA Topsail Schooner. (Sketch diagram - not to scale.) The vessel contains more than 15 separate spaces ranging from the half-deck which accommodates 39 trainees and 3 watch leaders together, to individual cabins for the senior staff.

These vessels carried a normal complement of 39 trainees and 13 staff.

The internal layout (Figure 3) expresses the control and ownership of space and particularly the complexities of hierarchy. From the foredeck, a companionway leads down to what is called the half deck, which is the fore part of the ship and provides the trainees' accommodation. It has 41 bunks, 39 trainees' bunks and three watch leaders' bunks; they have a corner to themselves together which offers some limited privacy. There are heads compartments aft of the half deck, two on either side with shower facilities. A steep companionway leads from the half deck up into the galley which is at main deck level, inside a deckhouse which runs from half way between the main and fore masts to the Bridge which is forward of the mizzen mast. The deckhouse also has accommodation for the bosun's and the cook's mates, and a small space with benches and a table, about the size of an old-fashioned railway compartment, called the 'duty mess' The galley is quite spacious with a big diesel range and a couple of large work surfaces, sinks and a big fridge. There is a large store and freezer in the lower deck space under the half-deck.

Aft of the galley is a large spacious chartroom, about four metres square, accommodating a navigation station with chart table, computer, and navigation aids. On the starboard side is a table where the staff eat. Leaving the chartroom one emerges into fresh air on the bridge, a raised area of deck containing the steering position, engine controls and providing some shelter. A companionway descends from the chartroom to the staff quarters; four single cabins for the permanent staff, a cabin with two bunks for volunteer staff and a further cabin with four berths further aft. Staff accommodation also includes two heads compartments with showers and a small laundry. The power and hot water for all of these are provided from an engine room amidships (below the galley) which as well as two auxiliary engines accommodates generators, a hot water system and an elaborate sewage system.

Staff and trainees live entirely separate lives in respect of accommodation. The only exceptions are the watch leaders who have bunks in the half deck. Surveillance and control of the trainees below deck is thus taken out of the hands of senior staff, and

passed to the watch leaders, who are in several senses understood as 'close' to the trainees. The creation of a life apart for trainees is clearly a deliberate choice, and the single open space for forty people may be understood as creating conditions for a particular kind of social life. Individuals' actions can be closely monitored by other trainees as well as by the watch leaders, and the emergence of a distinct culture among the trainees, as distinguished from the whole ship's company, is not merely possible but is rendered inevitable by these arrangements. The staff by contrast have varying degrees of privacy in cabins with one, two or four berths, separate eating arrangements and a shared social space. It is entirely reasonable to interpret this as a recreation of the conditions of the sailing navy of the 18th and early 19th centuries. This determines a set of relationships between the officer class and the 'lower deck' which however much any individual participant, staff or trainee, might wish to challenge or subvert are supported and reinforced by the physical layout.

The pace of change in UK sail training at the time of this study was such that by the time the first draft of this chapter was completed, *Sir Winston Churchill* and *Malcolm Miller* had been replaced according to a strategic plan for development of the organisation. Two new vessels have been completed and are in service. *Stavros S. Niarchos* and *Prince William*, the two newest ships in service as sail training vessels in the UK are rigged as Brigs, that is to say with two masts, carrying square sails on both masts. These vessels are 'authentic' square rigged ships, and therefore represent an equally complex but much more authentic setting than those they replaced. The internal arrangements are also somewhat more egalitarian, with the open half deck having been done away with and replaced by several smaller cabins. A much less stratified hierarchy of living and eating spaces reflects a significant shift in values from those that drove the design of the previous vessels in the early 1960s. *Taikoo* has also been sold into private ownership, having been replaced in 1999 by a new vessel.

The 'Old Gaffer'

Two further cases require mention. *Spirit of Fairbridge* is operated as a sail training vessel by the national voluntary organisation Fairbridge, which works with young people who are identified as disadvantaged, using mainly but not exclusively outdoor activities. A wooden vessel rigged as a gaff schooner, she has a number of features that distinguish her from the mainstream of sail training vessels. Schooner rig, with two masts of unequal height, the taller main mast and a fore mast is less common, as is wooden construction. She is much more 'ship-like' than most other vessels of a similar size. The design is based on a Liverpool Bay Pilot Schooner of the mid 19th century. Such ships would have spent extended periods in the Irish sea off the approaches to the Mersey, picking up pilots from vessels leaving Liverpool and Birkenhead, and putting pilots aboard inbound ships. They were designed to provide a comfortable and seakindly base, able to safely maintain station in all weathers rather than to make fast passages.

She was built on Merseyside, by the Spirit of Merseyside Trust, in the mid-1980s, using government Youth Training Scheme funding and labour. The original intention was that she was to be donated to the Ocean Youth Club who, for reasons which are not wholly clear decided at the time that they did not really like or want her. Fairbridge took the vessel on to use as part of their programme. She has recently been renamed for the second time, having been *Spirit of Merseyside* originally, then *Spirit of Scotland*, she is now *Spirit of Fairbridge*. She is unusual among modern sail training vessels, being built to a much more traditional design. She is 70 feet or so overall length, with a 20 foot bowsprit, broad beamed, with a high gunwale or bulwark around the deck. This gunwale is a foot and a half above deck height, with guard rails mounted above that, giving a very secure feeling to work on deck. The deck itself is very open with a lot of unobstructed space making it very easy to deal with sail handling and general operation. There is a doghouse in the stern but no cockpit, which is the biggest difference between her deck layout and that of more modern yacht styles of sail training boat.

Spirit is heavy and by the standards of modern STVs somewhat underpowered as a sailing vessel, and needs strong winds to sail with any conviction. Her rig is entirely traditional and almost perfectly authentic in the more general sense. Such a vessel would traditionally have been sailed by a crew of two or three, and while several trainees can usefully be deployed to hoist the mainsail, for example, it is entirely feasible for three or four experienced sailors to handle her without great difficulty. In terms of complexity she would lie somewhere in the middle of the scale, on the grounds that there are plenty of different ropes to fiddle with, controlling up to seven different sails. In the sense I have used the concept of authenticity, however, it can be argued that there is such a degree of contrivance in creating a replica vessel of this kind, that such vessels might be understood as less authentic than modern vessels built around the same time.

Internally her layout is not very different from, for example, the Robert Clark ketches with 12 trainees or crew berths in the forepeak, three pairs of bunks up each side, and two staff cabins just aft of the forepeak (2 and 1 berth) with 2 'pilot' berths that fold down at shoulder height on either side in the saloon. There is only one entrance used normally, through the doghouse, which has a small navigation area with the instruments and chart table. Steep companionway steps lead down from there into the galley, which is quite spacious, with two sinks and a lot of storage space. The Skipper's cabin is on the port side opposite the galley and forward is a wide saloon with seating on both sides. A large table seating about ten people is to starboard, and a separate smaller table seating about five on the port side. The feeling of the interior is very traditional with a lot of dark wood, and traditional-style skylights above the saloon. Forward of that are two heads compartments, one on each side immediately aft of the two staff cabins.

The Modern Yacht

Finally and in a striking contrast, *Alba Venturer* is the newest purpose built sail training yacht in the UK fleet, commissioned in 1999. She is an Oyster 70, one of about half a dozen similar vessels adapted for sail training. Oyster is a builder of luxury yachts, and these 70' vessels use an identical hull to that which would normally be laid out for two

or three paid crew and up to half a dozen or so 'guests' in the language of the luxury charter trade. *Alba* and her sister ship *Lord Rank* (an Oyster 68) have very similar internal layouts and almost identical rigs. This is a design of yacht normally rigged with a single mast as a sloop or cutter (a cutter has two headsails, a jib forward and a staysail nearer the mast, a sloop simply a jib). In this case the vessel has been rigged as a ketch through the addition of a second mast, and is fitted out to accommodate 12 trainees and five staff.

The key feature of the interior of the vessel is a large central saloon, very approximately 4 metres square. This space has padded benches down either side and two bunks one each side. On the starboard side there is a folding table which opens up to almost fill the space and allow the whole company to sit down together. When at sea the table is kept folded giving a good circulation space up the port side; an ingenious arrangement of floor sockets and removable legs allows the configuration of this space to be changed from 'seagoing' mode to dining area mode in a matter of minutes. *Alba's* table has a large chest freezer built in. Forward of that are two heads (toilet compartments) one on each side, and a sleeping cabin with ten bunks for the crew members. The bunks are arranged as two tiers of two down each side, with two more bunks one above the other on the centreline. There are two further 'proper' bunks in the saloon and two occasional bunks below these. In the aft port side 'corner' of the saloon is the navigation area. A chart table is the main feature, surrounded by racks for pencils and plotting instruments, several large bookshelves filled with technical and navigational publications and electronic instruments including a GPS¹² position finding system, radar, and radio communications equipment.

Down the starboard side of the boat aft, the galley is a long narrow space about 3m long with a food preparation surface in stainless steel, two sinks and the cooker in a niche at the forward end of the galley. The cooker has been placed to avoid the likelihood of

¹² Global Position System – a satellite-based system that enables users to fix their position to within a few metres.

anyone falling in on to it. There are lockers above and below the galley work surface where all the equipment and some of the stores are kept. Most of the other stores are in two large lockers in the saloon, and a refrigerator at the aft end of the galley. Going further aft from the galley a staff cabin has four bunks and some storage space. On the port side, corresponding to the galley is the Skipper's cabin, which also includes some storage space and a tiny office. The space between the Skipper's cabin and the galley, under the cockpit, is occupied by the engine room and an additional heads compartment with doors to both the Skipper's and staff cabins.

On deck the boat has a 'centre' cockpit as distinguished from the more traditional yacht's aft cockpit, and has the appearance of a modern yacht with a large number of winches, 11 all told including those at the masts, to control the running rigging, lots of stainless steel fittings and heavy duty rigging. The sails are of a very modern type; not the most advanced designs used by racing boats but certainly of the most advanced conventional sail designs to be found on cruising yachts. She is unquestionably 'of her time', and has an authentic early twenty-first century rig. Advances in design and technology have made such modern sailing vessels orders of magnitude more efficient than their traditional forebears. The relative lightness of modern materials and the sophistication of design leads to a surface simplicity in strong contrast to *Spirit* and to genuine traditional vessels. This simplicity must however be understood as simplicity-in-use, qualified by recognition that the design and construction, and consequently some of the maintenance demands, are highly complex. These modern vessels are extremely efficient sailing machines capable of fast passages in a wide range of weather conditions.

A Typology of Sail Training Vessels

The two dimensions of *Artifice vs Authenticity* and *Complexity vs Simplicity* provide the basis for an analytical typology based mainly on the type of sail and rig technology utilised. This is both more discriminating and more useful than the conventional distinctions between 'traditional' and 'modern' or between 'square' and 'fore-and-aft'

rigs. These conventional categories are mutually exclusive rather than offering any kind of continuum and tell us relatively little about the similarities that may be observed between the practices of apparently different types of vessel. As the diagram shows the examples discussed here cover a considerable range.

The typology provides only a partial analysis. Differences of size and, by inference, crew numbers are, as the tale of *Team Spirit of Wight*, which follows, illustrates, highly significant. Moving down the scale of size from twelve trainees to eight is equally significant and the possibilities offered by vessels working with six or eight trainees are worth considering. The typology provides a framework for considering types of vessel, size clearly calling to be considered alongside that, along with some attention to the significance of interior layout.

The significance of the typology lies in the extent to which it aids understanding of the differences between the various traditions and practitioner approaches. The more complex the vessel the fewer are the possibilities for trainees to develop mastery of more than a very limited number of tasks. It appears common for trainees to leave STA vessels after a fortnight aboard with very little more real understanding of how a sailing vessel sails, than when they started. The larger vessel, with more people aboard demands a more rigid, more highly organised approach. The larger numbers and necessarily more complex organisation of life aboard create a more stratified set of relationships within the ship's company. With a dozen or more staff and forty or so trainees relationships between staff and individual trainees are less intimate, more formal than those that can develop in smaller vessels. The practices which smaller vessels can facilitate may enable trainees to develop more sense of control over their surroundings, and certainly to develop a grasp of a wider range of techniques and understanding. The smaller space provides the arena for a much closer network of relationships, with staff and trainees spending more time together and establishing degrees of intimacy not evident to the same extent in a larger group.

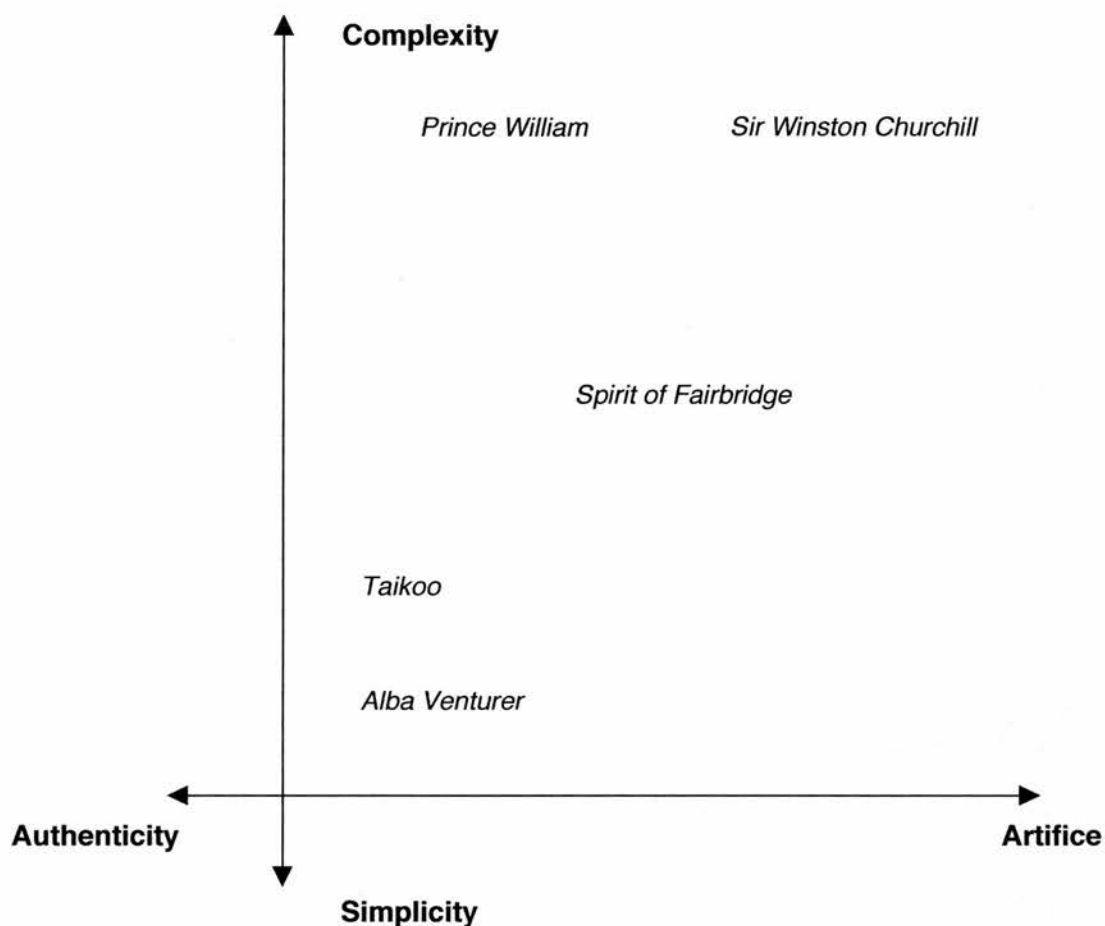


Figure 4: A Typology of Sail Training Vessels

Space and Community: The (Ironic) Tale of *Team Spirit*

The development of a specific design for purpose-built sail training yachts by Williams and Clark was extremely influential and the general principles established have been followed with striking consistency ever since. The size and style of vessel that carries twelve trainees and five or six staff has been widely imitated, and the ‘leisure yachting’ tradition is now firmly wedded to this sort of boat. The robust character of the concept is well illustrated by the story of *Team Spirit of Wight*.

In the 1980s the Ocean Youth Club embarked on a programme of vessel renewals with the eventual objective of replacing the ageing Robert Clark Ketches. A technically instructive but organisationally challenging experimental interlude in the 1980s resulted in two steel-hulled yachts, built to a custom design using MSC funding. These conformed to the Williams – Clark formulation of a 70' ketch carrying twelve trainees and five staff. The idea that OYC should build its own boats was then abandoned and a relationship with Oyster Marine, a luxury yacht builder based in Ipswich developed. The first new vessel from this source, *Lord Rank*, launched in 1989 proved a successful design. *Lord Rank* was a 68' ketch developed using a standard hull with a specialised deck layout and accommodation. She was a very different style of vessel, yacht design having moved on since 1970, with a wider beam for the same length, and consequently much more internal space in the hull. Nevertheless she had many features derived directly from her predecessors and conformed quite closely to the Williams and Clark concept, with a central saloon, accommodation for trainees forward and for staff aft.

An accounting analysis of the costs of operating these vessels suggested that Williams and Clark's formula was no longer as sound as had originally been thought, and that an increase in the number of trainees carried, from 12 to 16, would significantly improve the economics of the operation. A sponsor was eventually found and an 80' Oyster designed and built. *Team Spirit of Wight* was commissioned in 1995 and sailed mainly around the south coast. Her sailing qualities were widely praised and fast passages to the Channel Islands, Brittany and the Scilly Isles were more or less routine. As an environment for education, team building and for the social experience of sail training she was however much less successful.

One of *Team Spirit's* design features was the abolition of the central saloon in favour of a galley and saloon in the after part of the hull. The centre section was occupied by staff accommodation and a very spacious navigation area. Some practitioners with experience of the vessel have expressed the judgement that the increased number of trainees was not the major difficulty but that the lack of a central social space was. There can be no single true explanation of the difficulties this design presented. Personal experience of two

voyages aboard *Team Spirit* in 1995 suggests that the interplay of both factors generated some difficulty in creating a sense of intimate community aboard. The additional numbers combined with the layout to create a situation where contacts between staff and trainees and indeed among the trainees as a group seem to have become more fragmented and less frequent.

It was an accountancy driven solution, all of my experience says to me that having twelve crew on a boat is about right. Many more than that and as Penny Haire [former full time skipper, *Team Spirit*] always used to say, with some regret, on the shorter voyages she'd come off and couldn't remember the names of every one of the people who were on the boat. Now we should never be in that position. That in itself may not be important but the indication that one can't carry, that collection of people, is I think a very important indication. So size is very important. (Director, Ocean Youth Club, Interview 1998)

In 1998 the decision was made, as OYC's financial position worsened, to dispose of *Team Spirit*, both in order to liquidise the asset and improve the financial position, and in acknowledgement of the failings of the design. She was sold to Gordonstoun School who had been seeking a replacement for their ageing vessel *Sea Spirit*, and re-named as *Ocean Spirit of Moray*. The point of this tale is to illustrate the robustness of the Williams and Clark formulation. Twelve trainees and five staff was such a magic number in terms of the particular dynamic that was thought to be created, that even increasing the number of trainees by one third was judged an insufficiently successful experiment.

In an analytical sense *Team Spirit* may be understood as a discrepant case, offering some insight into the process of creating a community of shared values and understandings. What is illustrated is that the physical layout and the numbers of people aboard a sail training vessel have a direct impact on the social processes of the voyage. Whether the social process is understood as the formation of, in Kimball's (1980) sense a 'cooperative community', or as a total or closed institution of the kind described by Goffman (1968) or by Foucault (1991) it is clear that the physical layout creates and constrains opportunities for different kinds of interaction. The fragmented layout of

Team Spirit either inhibited social contact by separating the members of the potential community, or limited the scope for surveillance, in contrast with the open layout of the Williams – Clark design model.

As a way to conceptualise the overall difference between the traditions the distinction between *doing to* and *doing with* is useful. In the Tall Ship tradition, with higher degrees of complexity, and in the Personal and Social Development tradition as an explicit aim, the emphasis may be seen to be on *doing to* the trainees, in the sense of providing an experience which is therapeutic or perhaps ‘character building’. Whether they learn to operate this complex machine is less important than the possibility that they may be changed by the experience, a theme to which I return later. In the leisure yachting tradition learning to sail and to enjoy sailing is more highly valorised, and *doing with* the trainees is more strongly emphasised, in the sense of engaging in an activity involving degrees of mutuality and that is valued for its own sake. In this approach both authenticity and simplicity are, if not actually essential, both desirable and desired.

Chapter 6: Voyages and Voyagers

The voyage is the central unit of analysis in this study. It is pre-eminent as a frame for participants' particular experiences of sail training and their interpretation. This framing is temporal, through having a beginning, an end and an internal time-structure; physical both through the experience of a particular vessel and through geography, and social through the experience of contact with a particular group of staff and trainees. These framing concepts may be further elaborated to include for example the cultural dimension of experience, arising from visits to unfamiliar foreign ports or remote island communities. This chapter describes two contrasting voyages, setting out both some key dimensions of difference, and some features which appear consistent across a range of different voyage cases. The chapter prepares the ground for further examination of the nature of participants' experiences as well as raising important issues of context.

The descriptive case studies in this chapter were selected to represent the two main traditions in UK sail training. They also represent important contrasts in relation to the highly variable nature of the experience in respect of varieties of weather, waters sailed, voyage duration and the composition of any given ship's company. Some of the themes highlighted are, firstly, beginnings, and the different ways these are understood and approached, secondly variances including the duration of voyages, length of time spent continuously at sea and the number and character of ports of call. Consideration is given to the impact of weather and sea conditions experienced in the course of a voyage. Embedded in these accounts are examples of *doing to* and *doing with*, in relation to the engagement of trainees in active and meaningful decision making.

Variations in voyage length emerged as an important theme early in the study and the argument advanced here is that in the context of inescapable physical enclosure, features which can best be understood as those of a closed, or 'total' institution can emerge in a very short time period. Changes in the ways trainees and staff respond to one another over time are considered as important evidence in relation to the 'four day' claim widespread among practitioners. This is the assertion, so common as to be a truism in

the sail training world, that about four days is the necessary period to transform a group of young novices into an effective crew, working in harmony with each other, the staff and the vessel.

A Hebridean Journey in *Taikoo*

Arriving at a harbour quayside for the first time to join a sail training voyage must be a memorable experience for any teenager. It may well be experienced as exciting, as perplexing and also as potentially frightening and anxiety provoking. It is important but also difficult to attempt to understand what this experience is like or what it means to a naïve participant. What is this strange object called a boat? What are all these masts, ropes and wires. Where will I sleep? What will the other people be like? Will I be asked to do things I will find difficult? How can I understand all this? That moment of arrival, of confrontation with the unknown seems powerfully significant but is very transient. Even an hour aboard is enough to begin to make sense of the situation, to recognise some features and to begin to construct understanding. The best that can be achieved is firstly to observe what happens, how people begin to make sense of their new situation, and secondly to invite recollection of what it was like to come aboard for the first time.

The story of this particular voyage begins on a sunny June day aboard *Taikoo* at Oban, tied up alongside the North Pier among several working boats including a Fishery Protection Vessel and a former Trawler converted as a divers' charter vessel. The context is therefore one where the boundary between maritime work and leisure is blurred and ambiguous. This is not a marina full of shiny yachts, identifiably concerned with recreation, but a serious environment peopled by professional seamen aboard working vessels. It is close to Low Water, and the deck, three metres or so below the level of the quay, can only be reached by descending a vertical metal ladder, the lowest few rungs of which are a little slippery with seaweed and algae. This first obstacle often presents arriving trainees with a moment of clear doubt and uncertainty. "I'm not going down there!" is often heard from new arrivals but nevertheless in my experience eventually all the expected trainees will make the moves from quayside to deck.

The young trainees arrive as they have been requested, between 2 and 3 in the afternoon. Although there are significant differences in respect of social class and educational attainment (some have already left school while others, I learn later, confidently expect to go on to University) this is in many respects a fairly homogeneous group. The age range is narrow and there are many areas of common ground between the young people in terms of culture and interests.

The trainees are greeted as they arrive by staff members and directed down the main hatch into the saloon. The atmosphere is quite subdued, with a lot of extended silences. By 3 o'clock all the trainees have arrived and everyone gathers in the saloon. It is a little crowded with eighteen people in this space, but all the trainees are seated around the table. Tom, the Skipper for this trip, makes a very short speech welcoming everyone aboard and introducing the first activity, a 'name game'. "What I like to do is for everyone to tell us their name, what you are looking forward to about the trip, and your favourite sandwich. OK? I'll start. My name is Tom, I'm the Skipper, I'm looking forward to sailing in this lovely weather. My favourite sandwich is marmalade and salami." A few people laugh. He looks to his left and catches my eye. "My name's Ken, I'm the First Mate. My favourite sandwich is cheese and banana, and he's Tom."

The introductions continue around the table with each person having to repeat all the names that came before their own, in order. This kind of induction ritual is common in the Leisure Yachting tradition. It begins to create a climate of warmth, humour and mutuality. Trainees asked about their response to this kind of induction most commonly describe it firstly as 'silly' or 'stupid'. Asked to elaborate some trainees will talk about the staff in emotionally positive terms. One girl joining Taikoo for the first time told me:

It made the staff seem a bit more human. You started to think we were going to have a laugh. It wasn't all dead serious.

After the name game trainees are divided into 'watches' normally with four trainees in each, and helped to find a set of waterproof clothing in the right size. They are shown how to put on a lifejacket and how to put on a safety harness. A tour round the boat

includes a 'deck walk' where trainees discover how to clip the harness tether to the wire ropes provided for the purpose. They are shown how to operate the toilets, a procedure involving a valve and a pump rather than a flush, and they hear a stern injunction against putting 'anything you haven't already eaten or drunk, apart from a few sheets of toilet paper' down the toilet. The final stage of induction is a 'safety briefing' where trainees are instructed about fire precautions, about what should happen if someone falls off the boat and finally what the procedure would be if the vessel had to be abandoned. Some further instruction is conducted on deck, involving hoisting and lowering sails, rope handling and using a winch safely.

Once this induction activity is completed the boat is moved away from the pier. In this instance a passage of about eight miles is made to an overnight mooring. The timing of departure may be affected by weather and tides, depending on the particular port involved, but most skippers will express a preference for getting away from the starting point as soon as practically possible after the induction is complete. Even a journey of a mile or less 'Just to let them see we've really started' is widely regarded as the right thing to do wherever possible.

This pattern of events only varies as a function of weather conditions or of the particular problems of sailing in particular waters. For example, where sheltered harbours or anchorages are at a premium the vessel would proceed to sea and make a more extended passage directly. There are differences of style and approach between skippers, but it is the common features of the induction rituals that are described here. Significant features are the setting up of relationships between staff and trainees which appear, notwithstanding the power differences, informal and egalitarian in intent. There is very clearly authority being exercised, particularly around matters where safety is a primary focus. There is also evidence of an intention to encourage the trainees to express their wants and preferences, at this preliminary stage through the lens of 'what I am looking forward to about the trip'. This may be understood as consultative participation in decision making, as a sharing rather than as a transfer of power.

The following morning the Third Mate is the first person up, at 0645, and he wakes the two designated cooks. A programme for the week has been posted on a notice board in the saloon, with the names of the members of each watch and their staff watch leader, 'the mate of the watch', their times on watch each day, and the names of two trainees who will act as cooks for each meal. By a little after 8 breakfast is finished and the three watches are each given an area of the boat to clean up. The watch responsible for cleaning on deck are also given instructions to prepare for leaving the berth. This involves ensuring that the sails are ready for immediate hoisting, and the anchor is ready for use. The mooring warps are rearranged so that they can be released, in the correct order without anyone being left on the pier.

A preoccupation for the staff at this stage is to have the trainees identify with their watches, and to establish boundaries around particular tasks. It is common on the first day when the staff are still establishing their own recognition of the trainees and their membership of watches, to find that trainees cluster around friendship groups, or around tasks they see as interesting. In this case the Second Mate, dealing with the mooring warps at the stern, found herself at one point with only one of her four watch members left, as the others had all somehow been drawn to other parts of the boat.

The morning is spent practising a range of sailing manoeuvres, including recovery of a simulated 'man overboard'. By 1130 the watch system is formally brought into operation, with each watch taking three hour shifts (watches) responsible for steering, lookout duty, writing the logbook and sailing the boat. The Sound of Mull is between one and a little over two miles wide, and the wind direction on this particular day means that we have to make several 'tacks', turning the boat to put the wind on one side or the other, to make progress toward the north western end. At 1330 lunch of soup, in mugs, and sandwiches, is produced and evidently enjoyed. The watch on deck eat theirs in the cockpit while some others join them and some eat below.

In the light of a positive assessment of these trainees' capabilities and enthusiasm, and a suitably benign weather forecast, the Skipper and I agree that a passage to Barra, fifty

miles to the West in the Outer Hebrides, would be an option worth considering. All the trainees and staff are asked to gather in the cockpit and Tom outlines the options: "We can go into Tobermory, which is quite a nice little place, but it's a pity to waste all this wind. We could go round the corner there (*points to the North*) where there's a really nice bay to anchor in. What would be more interesting would be to keep on sailing, and head for Barra which is an island about fifty miles out that way. (*He waves his arm in a westerly direction.*) So it's really down to what you guys want to do." Several voices are heard almost at once "Let's go to Barra", "Do we have to sail all night?", "Will there be shops in Barra?" Tom turns to me; I have been doing the navigational arithmetic. "If we get the weather that's been forecast, it should take us roughly between twelve and fourteen hours from here to Barra so we would be there by, well, about 4 in the morning at the latest. We should be able to tie up at the pier there and all get some sleep before breakfast." The decision is made, there and then to follow the Barra plan. Several of the trainees have not contributed to the discussion but none of them convey any sense of dissent or anxiety.

This is a typical example of the kind of directed decision making that is used to engage trainees in a form of participation. The options presented were clearly differentially valued by the staff presenting them, and it would have been unusual for that explicit recommendation to be challenged by the trainees. Nevertheless a dialogue did take place, options were outlined and the decision was made *with* the trainees rather than simply being imposed. Later in the voyage decisions were made where the trainees' preferences, in this instance to make a longer overnight passage rather than stopping at an island anchorage, were respected despite the preference of several staff for a full night's sleep.

We arrived, as predicted, early the next morning in Castlebay, Barra. The passage of 50 miles across the Sea of the Hebrides was uneventful in that the moderate breeze and gentle sea conditions made the whole experience quite comfortable. Only two trainees were a little seasick, and most were expressing pleasure and enjoyment of the novel experience. The following days were spent visiting a number of different island

anchorages, some remote, others more populous, anchoring or tying up each night. On the third evening a barbecue was organised on a beach, with all the supplies and participants ferried ashore by many trips to and fro in the tender. The moderate winds of the first day persisted up to the fourth day of the voyage when a change to almost totally calm conditions accompanied the onset of continuous light rain, signalling the start of a day spent motoring wetly from the Isle of Harris back towards the Scottish mainland.

By this point significant changes in the relationships aboard were evident. The trainees had begun to identify strongly with their watches, as evidenced by the invention of names for each group, and competitive claims regarding the speed or efficiency of sail-hoisting or tacking manoeuvres. While the prior friendship groups that had existed at the start were still evidently important, many of the young people were evidently in the process of forming new friendships with their watch-mates and with other trainees. Relationships with staff also changed by this time. I noted particularly an increasing willingness of my own watch members to make and maintain eye contact with me, and a large increase in the number of trainee-initiated verbal exchanges with me between the first two days and the third and fourth day. As well as this relational dimension there were changes in the way tasks were approached and performed. By the fourth day the Second Mate, Christine, was encouraging her watch to hoist the mainsail without her intervention. She stood back and allowed the four trainees to organise themselves and the task, intervening only once to point out a potential safety issue.

On the penultimate day, with sunnier and breezier weather developing we headed into Kyle of Lochalsh where the trip was due to end, in the early evening, to eat dinner while tied up at the pier, and to spend some time talking about the trip. The following morning was spent on a prolonged clean-up, with the floorboards lifted and scrubbed, the bilges washed with a hose and brushes, and all the stowage spaces emptied and cleaned. At 11.30 everyone gathered in the saloon, almost a mirror-image of the joining day in several senses. Where there had been anxious silence, there was now a buzz of conversation and laughter. D, a fifteen year old, hands out teas and coffees from the galley. Tom enters from his cabin carrying a bundle of papers. "Well here we are then.

How was it for you?" A few voices say "Great" "Tiring" "Wicked". Tom goes on "Just a quick chat before we all go." He opens the chart and engages the two nearest trainees to trace the week's journey. Most people contribute some detail to the narrative, this was where we had the barbecue, that was where we saw a whale, this was where some people were seasick.

Next, Tom hands out some documents to individuals. Every trainee is given a certificate describing their participation in the voyage. Some are given RYA competent crew certificates and log books. Two trainees are given their Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme logbooks, with the *residential* section completed. As each individual name is spoken there is applause and cheers. Finally Tom names and thanks the volunteer staff, further applause, and everyone goes on deck. Group photographs are taken with every camera aboard, and handshakes and hugs precede the dispersal of the group.

In this example the claim that by the fourth day some important changes are evident is entirely justified. Of eight fieldwork voyages with this size of crew most produced similar evidence, only one really standing out as a negative case in this respect. This was a trip from Oban to Ardrossan in the Clyde Estuary, via the Crinan Canal, with a group of young people from a youth social work project. The five young people were accompanied by a project worker and three adult volunteers from the project. The whole experience was an extremely difficult one and ended in a breakdown of trust between the boat's staff on the one hand, and the project worker and her colleagues on the other.

A number of factors can be identified that may explain the character of this voyage. Firstly the relationships of the boat's staff and the adults who came with the group to the young people were difficult to negotiate. Secondly some of the young people seemed not to be prepared at all, in terms of expectations, for the experience. Thirdly the style and approach of the particular skipper was somewhat distant. Finally the (skipper's) decision to make a passage through the Crinan Canal rather than around the Mull of Kintyre may have been an important factor. The canal passage took a full 24 hours and provided an environment where there was little meaningful activity for the trainees, and there were

frequent and necessary periods ashore for some staff and trainees when negotiating canal locks. This case is therefore, and importantly, discrepant not only in the failure to evidence the effects claimed for a four or five day period, but also in relation to the other factors described. No single cause can be identified with any confidence but it seems plausible to imagine that if fewer of the confounding factors had been present together, a more typical outcome may also have been more likely.

Another negative case of a quite different kind emerged in the circumstances of a voyage undertaken after the fieldwork had been 'officially' completed. The trainees were a group of fourteen to sixteen year-olds from a Scout group in Norfolk, who came to sail on *Alba Venturer* for a week in the summer of 2000. This was an authentic 'pre-formed' group, accustomed to working and to living together. The skipper on that trip made the observation on the afternoon of the third day that 'These guys are at the stage most groups might get to by the end of a week if things have gone well.' The observation was made as the trainees themselves took down sails, dealt with all the preparations to enter harbour, and to start cooking the dinner with only minimal advice and supervision. In that exceptional case the group members had needed only two days 'before the mast' to become, with the staff, an efficient and largely harmonious group.

Across the North Sea in *Sir Winston Churchill*

A voyage in the Tall Ship tradition presents some powerful contrasts. I arrived at Newcastle to join *Sir Winston Churchill* only having been aboard this type of ship once before for a very brief visit. The vessel was larger by an order of magnitude than anything in my previous experience. The style of organisation and the physical complexity of the vessel was all, in some respects as new to me as to any new arrival. Staff arrive on the evening of the day before trainees, and the first day's activity is set out in great detail with activities timed at very precise intervals throughout the day. The entire first day is spent on these activities, the structure and sequence is repeated unchanged on every voyage.

As a stranger to the boat as a physical environment, to the individuals and to the culture of the staff group I had to find out what the rules of order and interaction among the staff were, and find my own way around the boat. The dominant element of the experience was a feeling of exploring, of establishing my place and beginning to understand the differentials of formal status and authority as well as the social responses of my new colleagues. This second factor was salient in the first few hours with a wide range of styles evident from at one extreme the Master (Captain) who was warm and affable in his greeting when we met, to one of the volunteer staff who seemed cold and unfriendly. Status differences, both among the volunteer staff and between the volunteer staff and paid staff were to emerge during the voyage as a significant theme.

My role aboard was as a Watch Officer, which involved oversight of a group of 13 trainees, responsibility for evaluating their individual responses to the voyage and writing a short report on each trainee. At sea the vessel's routine is broken into watches of 4 hours each and for each period one of the certificated staff (Master, Chief Officer, Navigator) takes responsibility for oversight and control. These duties are exercised for the most part from the comfort of the chart room and supervision of the lookouts and steering is exercised by the Watch Officer. During the staff briefings on the morning of the first day the three watch officers as a group met with the Captain, with the Chief Officer and with the Bosun. Although informal and relaxed in tone these meetings were focussed on ensuring that lines of responsibility and supervision were understood, and that in relation to a number of technical aspects the same procedures and techniques were being taught to all trainees.

Shortly before one o'clock the trainees began to arrive. Each trainee was allocated according to a pre-prepared list to a watch leader and a numbered bunk in the half-deck. A blue fisherman's smock and a large button badge with a number was also issued. The colour of the badge corresponded with a scheme for distinguishing the three watches and the number to a list of the names of each watch's members. At two o'clock, with all the trainees aboard, the entire company assembled in the half deck. The captain gave a short talk, welcoming the trainees, introducing the staff and setting out some of his

expectations for the voyage. The first, manifest purpose being to identify the various staff to the trainees and to outline the planned programme of activity over the coming hours. The second more implicit task was to establish the authority of the institution and of the individual staff. This was achieved through the display of uniforms and the use of language which established formality and hierarchy. No peanut butter and marmite sandwiches were evident here, indeed the trainees' role in this occasion was entirely passive.

From 2.30 until 4 a series of induction rituals took place, in some respects similar to those described aboard *Taikoo*. Trainees were organised in watches and 'rotated' through a set of activities. The first of these (but not necessarily in this order) was to spend some time with their watch leader and watch officer being taught the 'correct' method of securing a rope and how to coil, uncoil and stow ropes from the extensive rigging. The next task was for all the trainees to go 'over the mast', climbing the rigging on one side of the foremast and descending the opposite side, supervised by the Bosun and by the respective watch leaders. This was highly reminiscent of the traditional test of any potential novice seaman in sailing ships. Newby (1990, 37) describes his 'aptitude test', climbing 'op the rigging' almost two hundred feet to the very top of *Moshulu's* mast. This ritual was intended to discover whether potential seamen had the capacity to work aloft. Anyone unable to climb the masts of a sailing ship in harbour would be most unlikely to perform vital sail handling work at sea, and would therefore be rejected as a recruit. The final and most striking element in this series of induction rituals was the signing on of the crew. Everyone aboard has to have signed the ship's papers, and is told that by so doing they are now subject to merchant navy regulations. So far as the volunteer staff are concerned this was done in a relaxed and informal, almost casual way. The trainees however were required to participate in quite an elaborate formal process. The trainees assembled on the after deck, a watch at a time and were called into the chart room one by one.

My watch was 'fore-watch' and came first. I sat at the table in the port aft corner; the captain, medical officer and purser sat together at the opposite corner. Trainees were

brought into the chartroom singly and sat opposite the captain, who shook hands with them, his manner warm but fairly formal, and introduced himself and the two others. The medical officer made some inquiries about health, partly based on information in the forms completed by or on behalf of each trainee. The purser then collected from the trainee all his or her valuables including keys, credit cards, train or bus tickets, mobile phones and all their money. Trainees were told that this was done for their protection, because there was no secure storage for individual possessions in the half-deck. Once this was completed, the trainee was sent over to my corner, and the next trainee brought down to the captain's table. My task was to introduce myself to the trainee and to secure their signature on a document which listed all the persons aboard.

This process can be understood as an 'admission procedure' of exactly the kind that Goffman (1968, 27) describes. The dispossession of the trainees of their money, keys, credit cards and phones falls short of what Goffman calls 'civil death' but does clearly establish an abrogation, for the duration of the voyage, of some important rights and opportunities. Specifically trainees lose the means and the right to communicate directly with the world outside the ship. They lose the wherewithal to travel independently and alongside that the opportunity to unilaterally withdraw from their commitment to stay aboard. The justification for this procedure, that there is no secure storage in the crew quarters is convincing on the surface, however the deeper significance reflects an ideological position.

The provision of small individual secure lockers for each trainee would be technically straightforward and relatively inexpensive. The system described requires the attention of a (volunteer) staff member, the purser, for whom the recording of trainees' valuables and the issue of their cash represents one of the main tasks. A reasonable inference is that the chosen approach provides not only a means of securing trainees' valuables in their interests, but also expresses the nature of the relationship that is being established between the trainee and the vessel as an institution.

The day continued with a number of further training activities and dinner, followed by a briefing on Fire, Man Overboard and Abandon Ship procedures. By 2030 all this was complete. Trainees were issued with some of their cash and released ashore for a few hours. The highly structured nature of this programme has a number of effects. Firstly it creates a set of institutionalised imperatives. There is little scope for variation, for discussion or questioning about the programme itself, and a climate of conformity and acquiescence is quite quickly created. The training session on 'helm orders' is an example of the general approach. Trainees were stood at the wheel and given various commands which they had to learn to distinguish and to give 'correct' responses both in terms of actions and language. This might be characterised as procedural drilling, - *doing to* - concerned to teach a set of responses rather than to develop or promote understanding of any kind.

The following morning, after two sittings of breakfast some further training activities were completed, and at 0900 the Chief Officer met, in what was to be a daily event, with all the trainees in the half-deck¹³. The trainees were given an hour's shore leave before lunch, and our departure was timed to coincide with the beginning of the ebb tide for the twelve mile passage down river to the sea.

As we slipped our lines and motored down the river, two-thirds of the trainees 'manned' the rigging on the foremast, with half a dozen on each side out on the yardarms and the remainder standing one above the other in the shrouds either side of the mast. Their explicit role was to chant and cheer. Implicitly however this practice seems to be simply a way of keeping the trainees out of the way. Only one watch was required on deck to handle the lines, and the manning of the rigging is a long established practice in these vessels for harbour entry and departure.

¹³¹³ On this occasion the Chief Officer was, unusually, accompanied. I had negotiated an opportunity to join him and make my identity as a researcher known to the trainees collectively.

By 1500 we passed the breakwaters at North Shields and began our passage towards Esbjerg on the East coast of Denmark. There was no intermediate halt, the sails were hoisted off North Shields and a course set. The passage across the North Sea involved three nights at sea, arriving off the Danish coast early in the morning of the fourth day. The conditions for the first day and a half were fairly rough with near gale force winds for most of that time and waves 3 to 4 metres in height. These conditions would be very unpleasant in a smaller vessel and were certainly sufficient to make a lot of trainees quite seasick for a while. These unpleasant conditions moderated during the evening of the second day at sea, and on the third day the sun shone, the wind shifted round from the Southeast to the Southwest, and most of the staff and trainees began to look as if they were enjoying themselves.

These more benign conditions continued as we arrived on a dry sunny morning in Esbjerg, where we spent two days in company with *Malcolm Miller* which had arrived just before us from Hull. The structured, almost regimented nature of activity was maintained right up until the crew were given shore leave after lunch. Virtually as soon as the vessel was alongside, lines tidied away, and washing up from breakfast completed, the crew were put ashore on the dock and the watch officers given the job of organising and running a 'heaving line competition'. This was the beginning of a series of inter-watch competition activities, and involved each member of each watch competing to throw a coiled rope (keeping hold of one end) the greatest distance. That was followed by cleaning of the ship, very much in the routine manner, lunch, and the issue of foreign currency by the purser. She had gone ashore and changed a sum of money pretty well as soon as we landed, on the basis of orders taken from crew members within the last 24 hours before we arrived. Most of the trainees and some staff took the opportunity, after lunch, to go ashore.

On our second day in Esbjerg a communal barbecue was held, for the crews of both vessels, on *Malcolm Miller's* after deck. Further shore leave was given with a strict 1am curfew imposed, which all but a couple of the trainees observed. The following morning at the Captain's briefing at the morning staff meeting it was announced that we were to

leave Esbjerg at 1030 and head back for the UK, destination not yet certain but possibly Whitby on the Yorkshire coast as an intermediate stop before our final destination of Hull. Leaving Esbjerg in continuing fair weather, but with light adverse winds, we motored for two days. By this time the ship's routine was firmly established and the pattern of watch changes and mealtimes became firmly established as the rhythm of everyday life. Like the induction days, the ship's routine is prescribed in great detail, down to the times that different people are to be called for breakfast.

Our return passage West across the North Sea did take us to Whitby, where we anchored half a mile offshore and were shuttled ashore by tender. Watches reformed into old and new friendship groups, and staff and trainees wandered the town independently, until the prescribed hour for being back aboard. The anchor came up in the early evening and we sailed and motored South, coming to anchor again that evening in the mid-river anchorage just inside the Humber Estuary. The final morning at sea was spent motoring upriver and berthing the vessel at Hull just after 11 in the morning. A distinctive feature was the extended period between coming to this final berth and the trainees' departure. The crew were formally 'signed off' and discharged from their duties at 4 in the afternoon, and a party venue had been arranged by local supporters. The trainees and volunteer staff did not actually leave the vessel until the following morning. Observations and accounts of this period are revisited in chapter 9.

This was the longest voyage undertaken in the context of the study. A fortnight aboard and two extended sea passages gave time for relationships to form and for all the trainees to learn what was expected of them, becoming strongly acculturated into the way of life aboard. This was evident in all kinds of ways, for example in the almost universal, and very rapid adoption of the ship's language, not only for distinctively nautical activity but for activities such as 'smoko' for a morning or afternoon tea or coffee break. In relation to the four day claim it is possible to say that by the fourth day at sea most of the trainees appeared to understand the routines and expectations, three watches had begun to function as groups, and most of the trainees apparently knew the

names of most of their own watch-mates. Similar developments in the ways of relating between trainees and the staff they worked with, as described earlier, were also evident.

By this time the watches were able to work together effectively to pull up or trim a sail, something that had seemed like a real struggle at the beginning. On the other hand the much larger number of people meant that even by the end of the voyage many people, including several of the staff, still didn't know the names of everyone aboard. One interpretation would be that as the size of vessel and company increases, the four days that is claimed to be critical in smaller vessels needs to be extended to eight or ten. On the other hand it might be more satisfactory to say that the levels of group interaction and singleness of purpose possible on a boat with eighteen people aboard can simply never be achieved when the numbers are in excess of fifty.

Context and Experience

For most participants sail training is a 'one-off' experience and the particular character of an individual voyage experience is shaped by what I have called *contextual variables*. Notwithstanding the highly variable nature of the experience when one considers the varieties of weather, waters sailed, voyage duration and the composition of any given ship's company, nevertheless within any given tradition the ways trainees experience participation are generally fairly consistent. What was observed as most important in predisposing individuals and groups to a positive evaluation of their experience were factors related to preparation and motivation, and to the style and approach of the practitioners concerned. Trainees who have actively exercised an informed choice to participate most frequently describe their participation in positive valuing terms, whatever dreadful weather, seasickness and cold they might have had to tolerate.

Four important categories emerge in consideration of the differences between voyages, both as the *context* in which trainees have their own particular sail training experience, and as *the nature of the experience* itself. Firstly there is the matter of who the trainees are. Did they come in any sense as a group or groups, or as single independent individuals? What are the characteristics of the particular group of trainees in terms of

age, sex, social class? How did they become involved and how was their participation funded? Secondly, there are questions about the natural environment. What was the weather like? Was the sea rough or smooth? What kinds of land and of wildlife did they see? Thirdly there are questions about location. Where did they go? What were the places like, for example were there other people there or were the 'ports of call' uninhabited islands? Finally and centrally there are variances of duration. How long did the voyage last overall, and how long were the periods spent at sea and in harbour or ashore.

There are two quite distinct groups of variables to be considered in distinguishing different kinds of voyage. Firstly there are those arising from the choices made by providers and practitioners. The choice of waters sailed, the type of vessel used, and the duration and distance of the voyage are all choices that are, largely, made in advance. There are also differences between groups of trainees. This might be claimed to lie outside the control of providers. However, policy choices influence the likelihood of participation of young people from different categories in terms of social class, age, sex, educational background, and personal history. It is therefore entirely legitimate to treat 'trainees' as a further controllable variable.

Alongside these variables are factors which are related to the marine environment and represent objective conditions, largely outside the control of practitioners, such as weather, sea conditions and maritime hazards. In addition there are contingent features arising from the mediation through practice judgements of the previous two. A vital feature of every sail training voyage is the imperative to complete the week, weekend or fortnight by arriving at a specific destination by a particular time. In the strategic decision making process, the question 'where shall we go tomorrow' is always considered against the background of this imperative and of the elemental contingencies of weather, tides and daylight.

Trainees: who they are, how they get there and what they expect.

The size of the crew, that is the number of trainees aboard is widely cited by practitioners as a key variable with a significant impact on the nature of the experience. Crew size is not a linear variable, but increments in consistent steps as a function of vessel size. At the lowest end would be the yacht model of STV usually 10-12m/30-40ft LOA, with a crew of four to eight trainees and one, possibly two staff. The next step up would be the 'large yacht' of 18-22m/60-80ft carrying twelve to sixteen trainees and between three and six staff. Larger vessels than this are significantly different, not least in that they fall into a different regulatory framework; in the UK only the STA schooners and the Jubilee Sailing Trust operate vessels carrying larger numbers, typically thirty to forty trainees. For completeness mention should be made of the very large crews of up to two hundred carried by some of the 'national' vessels although these fall outside the scope of this study.

The age of trainees is evidently significant in a number of ways. The age *distribution* within a given crew is rarely mentioned explicitly by these informants although observations suggest that age disparities among trainees can have powerful effects on the nature of interactions among the trainees. The acceptable age range of trainees is a significant variation between STOs, particularly at the lower end of the scale. STA accepts trainees from the age of 16 whereas OYC goes down to age 12 and The Cirdan Trust's minimum age is 10. This appears to be the lowest specified minimum age for trainees although a number of organisations do not specify a minimum age. The maximum age for young trainees is universally 24 or 25; most STOs offer places for people older than this but they are not regarded as 'trainees' in the same way as young people. Adult voyages and 'open' age range voyages appear to be a revenue earning strategy for most STOs. Evidence for this is to be found in their timing, for example the STA programme for 1999 shows voyages during May and up to mid June as for 24 - 69 year olds. this is understood to be a response to low demand during school and university examination diets.

The 39 trainees aboard *Sir Winston Churchill* for the voyage described above were all in their late teens or early twenties; the average age about 19, and two thirds were male. Just under half the trainees came in groups organised through employment training schemes in Hull and Dunfermline, and the remainder came as individuals who had booked independently, some with the support of local STA fundraising groups. Most of the trainees had known for some time (a month or more) that they were coming, but several had been recruited in the last few days before sailing. The older trainees included several recent graduates, and of the 17 and 18 year olds several were just about to start University. They did as a group reflect the claims of the STA to create a social mix aboard and the full time staff characterised this as a 'typical' mix of young people.

Historically the practice of all the STOs starting in the 1960s was to target boys and young men as trainees; female trainees were not recruited by STA until the mid 1970s and the London Sailing Project still describes its objectives as taking boys and young men to sea. OYC represents a significant variation to this pattern. Although the early practice was to have predominantly all-male trainees there was never any conscious decision to exclude girls or restrict activity to males. Material from OYC in the 1970s shows female participants among staff and trainees. The significance of the issue is recognised within STA for example in that several informants independently cited the issue of mixed and single sex crews in response to a question asking for their view of 'the most significant recent changes' in STAs operation. There are still a number of smaller organisations for whom the idea of taking girls to sea either in all-female or mixed-sex groups appears problematic.

The crew of *Taikoo* for the voyage described earlier were five girls, aged fifteen and sixteen, from the local High School, two seventeen year old boys from Greenock, both using the opportunity to meet a 'residential' requirement for the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, and four sixteen year olds – three boys and one girl - sponsored by a local youth project in their home town in the central belt. They were also a fairly typical mixed group of the general kind often found aboard such vessels in the summer months.

The question of how a trainee is recruited is significant for a small number of informants; the different expectations that ST staff will have of 'unformed' and 'pre-formed' crews is one significant difference in relation to the nature of the process that trainees experience. These categories distinguish groups of trainees from mixed sources who are 'unformed' as a group because they are presumed not to have met before joining the boat, from groups arriving from a school or other common context. There is however considerable evidence from fieldwork that the assumptions conventionally made about 'pre-formed groups' are often faulty. The common expectation is that trainees arriving 'as a group' already know each other well and have established relationships. In some cases this assumption turns out to be at best weakly founded. During the fieldwork many trainees reported that although, for example, they had all come from the same school each individual only knew one or two others 'to talk to' before arriving. The evidence from fieldwork is that the genuine 'pre-formed group' is somewhat rarer than often appears to be assumed.

This question is also related to differences identified in respect of both individual autonomy in the trainee's engagement, and the question of funding. Several informants among practitioners express the view that trainees who have made even a minimal financial contribution will approach the experience with a more positive attitude than if all costs have been met by an external funder whether that is a public body or private sponsorship. One might speculate that it is the act of positive choice expressed through the making of a financial commitment rather than the money itself; by comparison with a passive acquiescence which might be characteristic of 'fully funded' participants. The data from the fieldwork is equivocal in respect of any relationship between the funding of participants and their engagement with the experience. What was very clear however was that the difference between trainees who have actively chosen to participate, and those who have merely acquiesced or even 'been sent' was significant. Participants who have not actively chosen participation are very likely to respond to the experience negatively, typically with some degree of hostility to staff and minimal participation in any activity perceived as 'work'.

The Marine Environment

In terms of claims, one of the most consistent claims heard from policy makers and practitioners was that the authentic unpredictability of the marine environment was particularly important:

One of the great things about sail training is it's in fact an environment over which the trainers don't have complete control. I feel that gives the whole thing a sense of reality. Often whilst there are obviously guidelines as to what and what isn't safe, and what is and isn't reasonable for the skipper to ask the crew to do, a lot of the problems that come up are actually outside the control of the staff who run the boat, and are therefore presented as very real problems. (Ian Lerner Fleet Manager OYC, Interview 1998)

Similar views are widespread, and weather is particularly significant in many of these informants' accounts. For example:

One of the things - the trouble with a short voyage is you don't get a difference in weather. You can get an all bad weather shift or an all flat calm thing. Whereas if you have a slightly longer voyage, in UK it's likely, or European waters, you will get this mix of weather. When we look at good voyages - when you feel the trainees really do feel they've achieved something it's usually been there's been a good mix of weather. They've had some bad weather at some stage, but it hasn't all been miserable weather. Whereas sometimes you have a voyage where it's been miserable for two weeks (laughs). (Mark Kemmis-Betty, Marine / Training Manager STA, Interview 1998)

Alongside this preoccupation with the weather and its impact lies a range of concerns arising from the context of an individual voyage. A sharp contrast can be made between, for example, a voyage out of Liverpool, where there is literally nowhere to go other than out into the exposed waters of the Irish Sea with several hours sailing to reach a sheltered harbour, and somewhere like Oban with a dozen sheltered anchorages within a few miles. Much of the Western coast of Scotland offers a very wide range of options for longer or shorter passages. This has in at least one case led to a deliberate choice of regular sailing area:

The key to sailing on the West Coast is that we can manage the environment. If we need to stop the boat and deal with an issue, whatever that may be, it may be just looking at, OK this time we are going to really be an effective team in terms of putting up this sail, and they divide themselves up into people who are going

to plan, actually execute it, pull the ropes and stuff like that. And then they sit down and talk about it. How did that go? Sometimes you want to get into a bit of shelter and take it back down, let's put it back up again. It's being able to be flexible whereas when you are hacking from A to B you can't be as flexible as you want to be. (Tom Watson Manager Scotland Fairbridge, Interview 1999)

Ports and Passages

A distinctive feature of any voyage is the range of ports and anchorages visited, the distances between them and the character of the intervening passages. As the case studies illustrate the waters sailed present opportunities and constraints in this respect. The North Sea for example offers the opportunity to 'go foreign', but only if the trainees (and the staff and vessel) are equal to the rigours of a two or three day passage out of sight of land. Among the islands and inlets of the western side of the British Isles by contrast it is possible to reach a wide range of different ports of call without ever making a passage of more than a whole day. More than one consecutive night at sea in such waters is unusual and certainly not inevitable. The distinction between voyage duration, in the sense of the length of time between trainees joining and leaving a vessel, and 'time at sea' as describing the time spent on passage between ports is a significant one to make. Several informants attach significance to the STA's practice of making an initial passage of two or three days at sea without calling into port. This is associated with notions about the importance of establishing a 'ship's routine', and also with the creation of a clear boundary between the crew and the world beyond the vessel.

A typology of destinations should include the dimensions of remoteness, natural vs. urbanised, and notions of foreign-ness. This is not a category that is spontaneously mentioned by most of these informants; other informants particularly OYC Skippers have expressed the view that 'destinations' in the sense of ports of call are only important in terms of the crew activities that can be derived from visits to particular ports. It is often asserted by these informants that trainees may not regard the distinction between going to one port or another as particularly important. Several informants describe shore leave as in some way problematic. Opportunities for drinking are described in negative terms, trainees may 'do a runner' and other forms of behaviour ascribed a negative value

are described, for example involvement in crime and vandalism. There is a strong message embedded in these passages, often alongside statements about the benefits of extended periods at sea, about the positive effects and value of maintaining the institutional boundaries of the vessel even when the physical boundaries are made permeable by being in harbour.

'Four Days Before the Mast': Voyage Duration as a Key Variable.

The congruence between the thesis title and this concluding section is such as to suggest special significance, even centrality. The most consistently cited factor across all practitioners' and policy makers' accounts as critical to the optimal success or effectiveness of a voyage is not who, where, or under what circumstances. It is how long. The commonest expression of such a claim in the Leisure Yachting tradition is that several days aboard are necessary in order for a group of trainees to gain the full benefit of participation. This is usually described as four days or more. The Tall Ships tradition claims that there are particular benefits from a longer voyage, typically a fortnight or more. Observations during the fieldwork are strongly supportive of the four day thesis and highly suggestive that such a period is critical in relation to aspects of group and institutional identity, and to the processes of learning or acculturation involved in living at sea and contributing effectively to the working of a sailing vessel.

What is important about this theme is the way voyage duration and the observable significance of the way a period at sea, longer than a weekend, shorter than a week can start to turn novices into apprentice sailors, and groups of strangers into collectivities, cuts across all the other differences. The central focus remains on the values, ideology and politics of sail training as education. The data related to voyage duration however supports the view that these differences are the products of value-driven choice rather than consequences of 'commonsense' or technically based choices about what sorts of vessel to use, in what waters and operated in what style. The argument is therefore that whatever values, purposes or ideology are motivating a sail training venture, the duration of the voyage will be of crucial importance.

Voyages may last from at one extreme a single day, without sleeping aboard (falling outside the strict definition of sail training), to a month or more in the case of long distance and circumnavigation voyages. Even when the latter are, as would be normal, broken into stages, a stage might consist of several thousand miles, across the Atlantic Ocean, or from Fiji to Auckland. The most common durations are one and two week voyages; some STOs also run regular weekend voyages. Claims are made for the benefit of optimal length voyages, although what this optimal length actually is, is disputed. There is reason to believe that perceived optimal voyage duration is broadly speaking a function of vessel size; larger vessels and their larger crews take longer, perhaps a week or more to achieve the levels of collaboration and evidence of 'community' that are thought to be apparent in smaller vessels after four or five days. It is clear that in general longer is thought to be better although it is not clear at what point 'long enough' is reached. Informants tend to talk about the economic problems of running longer voyages in the same sentence as the effects of longer voyages are extolled.

As an organisation we understand that the ideal length of time for young people to be on board is greater than seven days, because we have to operate and cover our costs, in a commercial sense, it's very difficult for us to offer berths on the boats at a cost that young people can afford to enable them to benefit from longer voyages. I think it's easy to recognise that the forming part of the experience probably goes on for three or four days, and the greater benefits start to come after that time. As I say it's quite a frustration that we're not able to make the longer voyages more affordable for the young people, because we acknowledge that there is a greater benefit to that. (Ian Lerner Fleet Manager OYC Interview 1998)

Regarding Spirit of Fairbridge voyage length is consciously seen as a variable to be tailored to specific groups of trainees:

During the summer months if she is based on the West Coast which she is every second year, she will do anything from 5, 8 to 14 day courses, there will be a number of options and people will be able to refer into those. Five days generally for those who are coming on for a sailing experience, they will be spread out over a period of time. The eight days are generally for those who are coming on the boat for the first time and are getting involved in the development process. The 14 days are for those who are coming back for some more, and really want to get some continuity with what they want to do with the staff on the boat, and

will be linked with some land-based exercises as well. There are all sorts of different elements. (Tom Watson Manager Scotland Fairbridge, Interview 1999)

In some cases duration is linked with other features, such as in this example the opportunity to reach a particular destination:

We try, particularly if we are doing a five day cruise, we try and get them across the North sea to even some manky old port like Calais or Dunkerque, but say you have been across the North Sea and you have been to a Dutch or French or a Belgian port, you know that's a huge thing. They are away in the Netherlands at the moment. (Boat Manager, Arethusa, Interview 1999)

Or in relation to the relative merits of larger and smaller vessels:

I feel quite strongly that the smaller vessel, although probably not so cost effective, is much better, it engenders a community spirit much more quickly, a youngster can get as much out of a week on a 70 foot ketch as they do in two weeks on one of the bigger ships. You have to all sit down to eat a meal together, and this cuts across the natural reserve that younger people have for talking to older people, you sit down next to a kid after about the second or third day, they are going to talk. And you definitely become a community more quickly. (John Hamilton, Board Member STA, Interview 1998)

Evidence from the fieldwork tends to be supportive of the four day thesis. The essence of these claims is that 'something happens' after four days that is seen as positive, significant and valuable. When pressed on what the 'something' is most practitioners speak about two distinct phenomena. Firstly there are observations about the acquisition of skills and confidence. After four days at sea in a 70' yacht it would not be unusual to see a group of four 16 year olds changing a headsail without close staff supervision, that is going to the foredeck and taking down one sail and setting a larger or smaller one in its place in response to changing conditions. This skill and confidence is not restricted to technical seamanship but might be illustrated with reference to taking responsibility for preparing and serving a meal for eighteen for example. Secondly there are references to social exchange, to the observed resolution of initial uncertainties about the overall framework of relationships aboard. This is expressed as a crew of trainees and staff 'gelling' or as individuals 'finding their place'.

Fieldwork observation suggested three categories of change which help to explicate what that 'something' might be. Firstly there are the problems of *living at sea*. These are inescapable and range from learning to move about the vessel, maintaining control of very limited personal space and of one's necessary possessions, to the problems of eating, sleeping and going to the lavatory. The data is consistent in showing that while it may happen more quickly for some, and that conditions may speed up or slow down the process, it takes more than a weekend to acquire these skills, and by the end of a week almost everyone will have learned to cope with life at sea. Secondly there is the learning of *life as a sailor*. This has several elements, some of which are to do with the acquisition of individual skills such as steering or tying the correct knots, correctly. Equally important are the more social aspects relating to cooperation in the achievement of complex tasks or evolutions such as setting and stowing sails, or bringing the vessel to or away from a mooring alongside a pier or at anchor. Again it is evident that an averagely motivated teenager will have learned to contribute usefully in this way after four days or so.

Finally there are a whole range of features which emerge in consideration of the sail training vessel as a *community* or an *institution*. These concern relationships among trainees and between trainees and staff, and involve themes such as communication, trust, authority, humour and intimacy. There is also a strong sense in some voyages of an identification, by trainees, with the vessel herself, not just as a material object but in a more abstract sense as the physical basis for this shared experience. The evidence here is complex and sometimes difficult to interpret, but some simple measures such as the frequency of trainees' initiating verbal exchanges with staff, or the willingness of trainees to have eye contact with staff are very consistent in their changes over time and support the four day thesis. By the fourth day it is also common for trainees to begin to volunteer themselves and each other for tasks without having to be led into action by staff. These themes of life as a sailor, living at sea and of the vessel as community or institution are central to understanding of the experience of sail training and the following chapters address each of these areas in turn and in some detail.

Chapter 7: Living at Sea

This chapter considers features of domestic and social life aboard sail training vessels, exploring differences between life at sea and in parallel settings ashore, and how these differences combine to give the sail training experience its special character. Space, movement and privacy are considered, along with the inescapability of the setting, and the impact of domestic and working routines. The residential and communal living dimensions are claimed by proponents as key elements of the sail training experience, and I have sought here to illuminate such claims and to make comparison with the experiences of participants.

Two themes are particularly important. Firstly there is the concept of *institutionality*, by which I mean the system of social rules, procedures and expectations operating in the enclosed life of a vessel and its inhabitants. This is critically important in sail training as an expression of tradition, as a framework for control, and as an inevitable consequence of the condition of containment that a vessel (of any size) at sea creates. The central argument is that the authentic enclosure of the vessel as an institution is the most important feature of sail training as an environment for learning. The concepts of *institution* and *community* provide the analytical basis for distinctions between the culture and practices of the different traditions.

The second key theme, and the starting point for exploration, is the question whether, and in what respects, *living at sea* is significantly different from other residential settings that might be contrived with an educational purpose. It might be argued quite convincingly that the experience of being with a small group travelling by minibus to a strange place, or spending time camping in a wilderness far from permanent human habitation would provide some similar elements of experience. The argument developed here however is that there are some very important differences, and that quite separately from consideration of *life as a sailor*, which involves attending to the sails, steering and navigation, *living at sea* is a powerful and important learning context for trainees, with its own distinctive features and impact.



Plate 1: Stowing the Galley

The aims expressed by sail training providers variously emphasise teamwork, communal living and the idea that young people will learn important lessons about life, about themselves and about others through participation. Many of the informants who have

talked about purpose and benefits have stressed the importance of the residential dimension, in many cases suggesting that living at sea is the most important feature of the experience. The notion of institutionality is acknowledged, although not labelled in that way, by informants who stress the importance of the isolation from the outside world provided by the boat. In these accounts of purpose the difference between life at sea and in other residential settings is implicit rather than explicit. A central theme of this chapter is therefore to explore and describe these differences.

Several informants among trainees have made analogies with other experiences, including some clearly educational in intent, as well as experiences of military service or prison. For example, A, a trainee on *Sir Winston Churchill* drew a number of parallels with her experiences as a player in children's and youth orchestras, both in respect of the communal enterprise and in relation to communal living. Another trainee, a pupil at Oban High School who lived in a school hostel during the working week spoke about living in a hostel as being similar to being on the boat:

KM: Can you say what the similarity is?

J: Because you are with the same people all the time. You get to know them really well. In the hostel that can sometimes be difficult if you don't like some people. Sometimes you want a bit of privacy and you can't get it because there are so many people. (J, Trainee, *Taikoo*, 1998)

These parallels and analogies are helpful as pointers toward those features which are similar. It is straightforward enough to distinguish those similarities. Living in a group, living under physically trying conditions and the pursuit of some shared task or goal are all readily exemplified ashore. The features selected for scrutiny here are those I have identified as peculiar, either in absolute or relative senses, to living at sea. There are many aspects to life aboard a sail training vessel and I have not attempted to address all of the possibilities. Keeping the boat clean, for example, is the focus of a lot of activity but can also be found elsewhere. For example:

KM: What about the domestic work in the galley, and cleaning?

J: It has to be done. I used to be in the Boys' Brigade, we went camping and had to set up our own tents and everything. We were there for a week. It's just

the same thing, we had to tidy up every day, clean the ovens and all that. Same thing. (J3, Trainee, *Sir Winston Churchill*, 1999)

Non-sailing activities such as games also reveal important insights but I have not chosen to focus on these aspects here. In this chapter much of the data and a lot of the discussion arises from consideration of life aboard medium sized vessels in the Leisure Yachting and Personal and Social Development traditions, but the comparative dimension in relation to larger vessels in the Tall Ship tradition is also significant.

Space and Movement

There are a number of categories which tend to support claims that living on a boat has important unique features. Firstly there is the limited physical space available. Private space for individuals is limited in most vessels to a bunk space with room to sit up or lie in, and some very limited space for the storage of clothing and possessions. Overall perhaps a little more than one cubic metre or so of space in total per person for trainees. Public space and shared or semi-private space are similarly restricted. The latter term is used to describe spaces such as that immediately adjacent to a group of bunks, where the 'owners' of those bunks may assert special claims to the space for dressing and for socialising. Communal or public space would include the saloon and most of the outside deck. The saloon in a 20m vessel would typically be a space roughly four metres square, with seating round the sides and a folding table large enough to seat eighteen people. In most such vessels there are also two or more bunks in the sides of the saloon area.

The galley (kitchen) and heads (toilets or bathrooms) are similarly confined spaces, particularly in smaller vessels. A Williams-Clark ketch for example would have, in a typical galley layout, six to eight square feet of working surface, two small sinks and a standard domestic size gas cooker, with storage for equipment and space for two or perhaps three people to work elbow-to-elbow. The heads compartments on these older mid-sized vessels are very small – most people find little space between knees and door when seated on the toilet, and there will be a very small washbasin in one corner. By comparison with most buildings used for residential work with young people this is a

tiny, crowded space. Ashore most young people and most youth workers or teachers (including me) would regard such conditions as barely acceptable and certainly as uncomfortable for a long stay. The nearest comparison might be with a mountain hut or bothy with communal 'mattressenlager' sleeping accommodation, with camping in small tents on a restricted site or making an extended journey by minibus. A key consequence of limited space is the limited scope for physical movement and the creation of social separation, or privacy, through physical distance. It is difficult for anyone at sea on a Sail Training Vessel to spend any time separated by more than, at most, five or ten metres from other members of the group. Surveillance by both other trainees and by staff is difficult to avoid and scope for individuals to control their social proximity is restricted.

The external spaces, the cockpit and the deck, are strange and difficult for novices to negotiate. There are, to the naïve observer, many odd angles, strange curves and protuberances. The deck and rigging are complex and mysterious, bristling with obstacles ready to trip the unwary, hard objects on which to bash and bruise oneself, and overall this is a physical environment quite unlike more or less anything that a novice will have experienced before. A further unique aspect of seafaring is the effect of the ship's movement. At sea under sail the deck will often take on a permanent slope of fifteen degrees or even more from the horizontal for hours at a time, the tilt alternating at shorter or longer intervals as the vessel tacks to bring the wind on one side or the other. Everyday physical tasks take on a problematic character. Pouring from a teapot in an environment where visual indicators of verticality are at odds with the 'direction' of gravity can produce some unexpected difficulty until one of the 'correct' counter-intuitive solutions is learned. A drink left unattended when the vessel tacks, the deck tilting from one side to the other, will slide across the table and usually spill. This is disappointing for the person who was hoping to drink it, frustrating for the person who has to clean up, and sometimes wildly amusing for onlookers.

As conditions become more demanding the horizontal tilt is compounded with pitching fore-and-aft as bigger waves are encountered. Even moderate condition will produce a

significant degree of movement, alien to the experience of novice trainees. As the sea gets rougher, the effects of the vessel's movement become more severe. Objects left unrestrained slide off bunks and roll around the deck. Kitchen equipment not cleaned and stowed away will break loose and crash around making an alarming amount of noise and sometimes causing damage. One powerful memory of very rough conditions is of a china mug escaping from its hook in the galley and flying the fourteen feet across the boat, missing my head by a foot or so as it shattered against the opposite side of the hull.

The physical character of a boat, and the many different conditions that it can exhibit combine to produce a set of circumstances where new modes of movement have to be learnt. Moving around the vessel is physically demanding, and doing work of any kind a significant challenge. All this combines to make the everyday business of life, eating sleeping and eliminating, a very different prospect from life ashore. Trainees' adaptations to these circumstances are a key feature of the experience and are explored later in this chapter.

Boundaries and Finite Limits

It might be argued that inescapability is the single most significant feature of life at sea. Once the vessel draws even a few feet away from a harbour wall, there is very literally nowhere else to go. Passage-making is not even a requirement, as a mooring or anchorage can provide the context for a literal understanding of the metaphor 'we are all in the same boat'. This effect is used consciously by some skippers as a means of control. One of the Skippers of *Spirit of Fairbridge* put it in these terms: "I prefer to anchor whenever possible rather than going alongside a pier. You have more control over what's going on on the boat, people can't just get off and go ashore whenever they fancy it." Even a few hours at sea, away from land by even a mile or two, can produce a feeling that one is separated from the everyday world, and longer passages out of sight of land generate a strong sense of detachment, a focus on the tiny world that is the boat and its people. A journal entry made eighty miles off the Norwegian coast during the 1999 Tall Ships' Race from Shetland to Denmark records: "After 3 nights at sea in,

latterly, very rough and unpleasant conditions, I have a strong feeling that for me, here and now, this is all there is.” In such circumstances the world beyond the vessel can seem distant, irrelevant and almost unreal.

The fourth respect in which shipboard life offers a different kind of experience is in relation to the finite character of resources. For many trainees the idea that there is a finite limit to the fresh water supply, or to the availability of electric current, is particularly novel. It is also experienced sharply in relation to the limits on their personal supplies of sweets or cigarettes or sometimes both. This was thrown into sharp perspective by an overheard conversation among trainees while at anchor in Millport Bay, Isle of Cumbrae. The trainees had come as a group, for a weekend, organised by the Ayrshire Youth Information Project. It was Saturday evening and the trainees had been aboard for just over 24 hours. *Taikoo* was anchored for the night in Millport Bay in the East Anchorage. We had been unable to moor alongside the pier at Millport because of a large vessel occupying the only suitable berth. I was on deck, in the dark, after dinner and overheard some of the younger girls talking to each other about what they were anticipating for the rest of the evening. Someone had mentioned to them the possibility of their having to stand an anchor watch (a lookout rota overnight, against the possibility of the anchor dragging), and one says “What’s the point of sitting, crabbit without any fags in the cockpit?” Another girl complained to me “We were told we could go ashore.” referring to information she had been given prior to the voyage, and she told me that they were collectively running out of cigarettes.

Routine and Flexibility

There are a number of important aspects of living aboard which arise from the interplay between the working routines involved in sailing the boat, the structures of authority and control, and the vessel as a domestic setting. There are a number of dimensions to be considered, for example the relationship between cooking and eating on the one hand and watchkeeping routines on the other. While at sea the imperative to maintain an active watch on deck is absolute. Usually this will consist of, as a minimum, a person

'on the helm' steering the vessel and one or two trainees maintaining a visual look-out. There will always be a staff member of some kind on deck while at sea. She or he may be supported continuously or intermittently by a second, more experienced staff member overseeing navigation and overall control. The duration of watches varies from four hours to as little as one hour in some vessels' practice. The formality with which the routine of watch changes and the rotation of the various duties among the trainees is also quite variable, both between vessels and in the practices of different staff.

Different approaches to the organisation of meal times are characterised by the degree of flexibility or rigidity in their scheduling. The least flexible approach is characteristic of larger vessels and is justified as with many other aspect of life aboard, in terms of the requirement to deal with a large number of people. Meal times are invariable, with two sittings for each. On each day of the cycle of watch duties trainees in this context know exactly when their next meal will be served. By contrast in smaller vessels the interplay between watch-keeping and mealtimes is much more flexible. During a passage, lunch may be eaten at sea with trainees and staff eating 'in shifts', those off watch temporarily relieving those on watch who can then go below for long enough to eat. The timing of lunch will vary, earlier or later times being arrived at for a whole range of different reasons.

Dinner will also vary in timing, most often being planned in relation to an anticipated arrival in port or anchorage. A sample, so to speak, of dinner timings during the course of fieldwork shows a range from 6.30pm to in one extreme case 11 o'clock at night. This last was unusual but not unique, and had involved an interim distribution of early evening soup and sandwiches while at sea, followed by 'proper dinner' once in harbour and safely tied up. In vessels where this kind of flexibility is the norm, dinner times between 7 and 9pm are most common. The essential point here is not the meal timings themselves, but the ways they are dictated by the practices of the vessel. There is a strong correlation between the size of the vessel and the degree of flexibility or routinisation experienced, some of which is conventionally explained or justified by the difficulties of servicing a larger number of people. Other objective factors such as the

greater difficulty of working in the galley of a smaller vessel, with its relatively greater motion in rough seas can also explain some of this difference, while the shorter passages common in smaller vessels also tend to encourage such flexibility.

Routinisation was the single most striking feature of life aboard *Sir Winston Churchill*. As individuals we were clearly submerged in the collective, with only occasional chances to act outside the frameworks of these routinised patterns. There was never any suggestion that trainees might have anything to contribute to decision making about where we should go or even what time to have dinner. The rigid routines and hierarchic organisation combine with the decision to make long sea passages to create circumstances where the suspension of trainees' autonomy is made to appear necessary and justified. The structure and approach were all oriented to providing trainees with a particular kind of experience where they were subject to disciplines of task and routine, and where they were in many respects *done to* rather than *done with*.

The repeated pattern of 'numbering off' the watches was a striking element of the routinisation of trainees' lives. Watches are checked to see that everyone is present by numbering off to thirteen by the watch leaders, the individuals calling out their numbers in order. It is a frequent ritual, whenever the watches muster to begin a period on watch or to go ashore they 'number off' to make sure everyone who should be there, is there. When people go ashore they are required to leave their number badges, a practice justified in terms of safety and knowing who is aboard and who is not. It can also be understood to be about authority and control, a means of reminding the trainees that even ashore they are subject to the disciplines of their membership of the crew.

These are some key features of life aboard ship. They are conceptually separate from what I have characterised as *life as a sailor*, the technical aspects of seafaring such as sail handling, ropework, steering and navigation, in that they form a kind of contextual matrix or infrastructure for the vessel as a community. These aspects arise as part of *living at sea*, quite distinct from those activities concerned with moving the vessel from place to place. The distinction arises from the differential in levels of choice regarding

involvement. It may be perfectly possible for a trainee, in some traditions at least, to opt for a minimal involvement in sail hoisting, steering and so on. No such choice is possible, short of 'jumping ship' at some port, in relation to these infrastructural features. Even a person adopting a passenger-like role cannot avoid being incorporated into these patterns and acts. It is that combination of limited space and restricted privacy, the movement of the vessel and the inescapability of the whole experience that makes *living at sea* so profoundly different from any dry land context.

"There's a young girl I remember": Practitioners' Claims and Exemplary Tales

Most people who have worked or are involved in sail training have stories they tell to illustrate their account of the process. At this point I offer a number of accounts which express ideas about the importance of communal life, of cooking and cleaning, dealing with seasickness, and of being part of an isolated, clearly bounded community. These ideas are often expressed through what I have called exemplary tales, nearly always recalling some individual young person whose experience is thought to typify some important feature.

The problems of living in a confined space along with a group characterised as strangers are seen as significant by some informants. This is most often expressed in one of two ways, either in terms of subordination of individuality, or in relation to the requirement to tolerate others' intrusions and the enforced intimacy engendered in shared living space. The first of these is expressed as:

The issue of losing one's own individuality. One is in a group, a lot of group pressures and one has to subordinate to the team. Then there's loss of privacy in that people live in an open half-deck which is a very interesting communal experience for a lot of young people.

(John Songhurst, Director, STA 1998).



Plate 2: Dinner in Alba Venturer's Saloon

The second common view of communal living is in relation to the challenge of living in physically intimate proximity:

One aspect [...] is if you take youngsters who typically have never been away from home and certainly haven't been obliged to live with other people's socks, they get an understanding of living in a team, becoming reliant on other people [...] living alongside each other in a confined space, really close quarters. (Jennefer Tobin, Governor OYC, Interview 1998)

And as a dimension of that challenge, the functional value of maintaining the accommodation:

Cleanliness and tidiness, that comes home half way through the week when the boat's a shambles and then at the end of the week we have a huge clear up, we always do. Then they arrive back here in reasonable order. (Nico Franks, Boat Manager, *Arethusa* Interview 2000)

These concerns with domestic or residential aspects of the experience of life at sea include a strong focus on food, on shared meals and on cooking. One of the most

enduring stereotypes is that of the trainee who, although not a major participant in the sailing of the vessel, can establish a significant presence and sense of purpose through involvement in cooking.

There's a young girl who I remember vividly [...] what we found was that although she wasn't actually that interested in sailing or being on the boat, the one thing she enjoyed doing and did very well, was cooking. When we discovered this, she suddenly found her role on the boat as the person who was turning up the teas and cakes and every thing. Whilst she wasn't able to contribute much to the sailing of the vessel, she was a very valued member of the crew, and her position in the crew was elevated to a very high status because of the contribution she was able to make. As a result her self esteem came right up and by the end of the week she was actually almost unrecognisable. (Ian Lerner Fleet Manager OYC, Interview 1998)

In a similar vein is a story of a young man whose life was, in this account, given new direction and focus by the opportunity to work as cook's assistant on an STA Schooner

[He] was pretty aimless, quarrelled with his family, he had been thrown out by his father. He was living in a hostel, bullied, life wasn't too clever. Somebody put him in touch with the schooners, he came down and he worked on the refit. It became clear that he had no idea really what he wanted to do. I think he was just sort of floating. Anyway, he spent quite a lot of time on the refit and the result of that was that he has entered a career in catering. He is training to be a chef. He says that it was working on the schooners that turned him around. Made him realise there were things he could do. You see he got a job as the cook's assistant. That was what started him. He did well at that and the cook encouraged him. So he then started to be more useful, to be more helpful in the galley rather than just doing the organisation and this put him on the road to a career. (Peter, Navigator, *Sir Winston Churchill*, Interview 1999)

Seasickness is almost certainly the most unpleasant aspect of life at sea. It is intriguing to discover how many keen sailors suffer repeated episodes. Curly, a volunteer mate with OYC told me how surprised many skippers have been to find him, an experienced sailor, being quite violently seasick time and time again yet continuing to return. "I can be quite violently sea sick for a long time and I just take it as part of it - the old chuck up carry on." He explains his own experience in this, and related respects, as 'character building'. "You find out just what you can put up with. I found out just how much cold I could cope with. You also discover how hard you can push yourself when you're tired."

(Curly, Volunteer, OYC). An analogous view of the experience as offering potential for learning was expressed by the (former) Director of the Sail Training Association "One loses one's personal dignity and sense of self importance if one's seasick. No experience is more levelling than that." (John Songhurst, Director, STA Interview 1998)

My own experience in this regard has been illuminating, and in the context of this research particularly timely. With some fifteen years of regular seagoing behind me I have known for a long time that I am moderately prone to seasickness under certain circumstances, particularly on first returning to sea after a long absence, and most often when tired. During the passage from Shetland to Denmark in the 1999 Tall Ships' Race I spent about ten hours in very rough conditions mainly lying in my bunk hoping for a quick death. This was, by an order of magnitude, my worst experience of seasickness, and very unexpected. Although I was able to contribute, if somewhat minimally, to the running of the vessel during that period I vividly remember firmly resolving to myself at the time that as soon as we touched Denmark I would leave the boat and never, ever, go to sea again. It would be easy to exaggerate the distress involved but my personal testimony is that the experience is deeply unpleasant. Sufferers find any kind of activity extremely difficult and do, genuinely experience the feeling that oblivion would be preferable. Although it is less common to have this kind of experience many years into a sailing career, many practitioners offer similar insights.

Seasickness affects people in different ways, my first trip I was ill, everybody sort of got over it, and once you know you do get over it, and it's only a passing phase, you look forward to the better times at the end of it. Although they want to crawl into a corner and die it does get better. As you say there are some people it does affect them quite physically, they are very very ill, and in a situation like that it is unfair to keep them on board. (Richard Priestley, Engineer, *Sir Winston Churchill* Interview 1999)

Curly's view of seasickness as character building seems to be somewhat eccentric or old-fashioned in the contemporary climate. Most informants were a good deal less enthusiastic about the idea that seasickness could be beneficial. One skipper, valuing positive experiences more strongly, put it thus:

When the weather is really bad, some people find their limit, and they realise they can't cope. I sometimes think it's best if people go through life not discovering what they can't cope with, because it does something for their self-esteem. Ninety-nine times people find, they discover they can do things they never realised they could do. They go home to their mums having cooked meals, and done a million other things that they haven't done before. (Tom Sage, Relief Skipper, *Taikoo* Interview 1998)

This kind of view is expressed in a wide range of contexts, and is not particularly associated with any one tradition or type of vessel. Richard Priestley offered an account of the experience as a process, and described one common strategy for supporting trainees through the experience:

If the weather is particularly adverse the first three or four days of the trip can be very bad, and you need to keep the morale and the motivation going. People tend not to believe you that it will get better. Trying to convince them that it will get better, and they will enjoy themselves [...]. It's trying to get people to break through worst part to gain the benefits of the part at the end. But as I say if you can keep people motivated, you keep people's spirits up, keep smiling. If people are feeling ill, as you walk past them, are you feeling all right, are you feeling better? Just general concern for people as you just walk past them, are you all right? Make a laugh and a joke about it. We had the score cards out last night, people were coming up, being sick and the score cards would come out and they would wipe their face and smile and carry on. That's the way to do it. If people are left in their own little world they feel very sort of insular and potentially alone. (Richard Priestley, Engineer, *Sir Winston Churchill* Interview 1999)

Practitioners and policy makers in sail training more or less unanimously endorse the view that the nature of the communal experience, living as part of a clearly bounded community in some degree of isolation from the everyday world of dry land is a vital element, with particularly powerful effects. In some accounts this is seen as closely linked to the issues of living together in a confined space, for example: "They've got to get on extremely well together, because they're in a small space. If they want to opt out they can't just go down the mountain and go home. They've got to stick it out." (Kit Power, Board Member OYC 1998). Another version lays greater stress on the aspect of enclosure and inescapability:

It offers the ability to present challenges to individuals. Not just physical challenges but social challenges as well. [...] One of the great advantages I

believe away on a boat and challenging them in such a way is that essentially there is no backing out. Physically they are in an environment that they generally can't walk away from. (Ian Lerner, Fleet Manager OYC Interview 1998)

Less common but worth recognising as significant is a view which stresses the withdrawal from civilization and the influences and habits of contemporary culture.

It's one of the last areas where you can take people from all walks of life, take away any outside influence such as television and false standards that can be generated, that way, and to let young people live and work alongside each other. When they find they've actually got to talk, and that there are things to talk about, apart from just listening to music, it starts opening one or two doorways on life. (John Hornsby, Board Member, STA 1998)

Although a less common explanation of the benefits of living with others aboard ship this view is nonetheless significant. Removal from the influences and experiences of everyday life is treated as a positive, life enhancing experience. By implication the exposure is to values of simplicity, naturalness and purity, contrasted with the urban values which are seen as 'false'. It provides resonances with, for example the values expressed in 'wilderness experience' and historically by the rescuing and child-saving traditions in youth work.

In summary, this range of claims and illustrations illustrates a broad consensus among sail trainers that the various aspects of domestic life at sea are vital components of the experience. There are significantly differing approaches, for example in relation to the most appropriate response to young people's seasickness, and in relation to the particular benefits derived from the experience of communal living. These differences are broadly consistent with the different approaches and emphases expressed in relation to traditions of sail training. The Tall Ship tradition with its emphasis on the subjugation of individuality tends to emphasise those aspects, while the Leisure Yachting tradition emphasises a focus on the experiences of individuals and the ways they are changed by the experience of participation.

“I thought the bunks were luggage racks”: Trainees’ Lives at Sea

Interviewing trainees one of my particular priorities, especially when it was possible to carry out interviews early in a voyage, was to try to uncover something about expectations and how those had matched up with the early stages of the experience. Most trainees report some kind of mismatch between their (often not clearly articulated) expectations and the experience of first arrival, in respect of the living accommodation and bunk space. The commonest response is surprise that there is so little space. The forepeak of *Lord Rank* was described by one trainee as “Very small, very cramped”. These perceptions can shift quite quickly over the duration of a voyage. *E*, a trainee who took part in a 6 day trip on *Taikoo* told me on day 5 of her voyage that:

I had never been on a yacht in my life before. So it was quite interesting, I was just looking around, I wasn’t sure what it was all about. It was very small at first, but it seems to have got bigger as I have got used to it. [Now] It seems much more space. (E, Trainee, *Taikoo* 1998)

Less commonly trainees have described the accommodation as “big” or as “a lot of space”. What is clear from this is that the character of living space, and its bounded quality is seen as significant. The essential factor is the frequency with which this is raised as a key concern by trainees. It is expressed in terms of the size of the bunks, of which one trainee told me she “thought the bunks were luggage racks”, and space for storing clothes and possessions, or in relation to concerns about comfort or its lack, for example, *S*, another trainee on *Taikoo*:

I was quite pleased that the beds were actually reasonably soft if you know what I mean. That it was quite comfortable to sleep on, I was worried in case it was like really really bad. Can't sleep for the whole week, but it's quite comfortable so that's good. (S, Trainee, *Taikoo* 1998)

Observations of this particular kind are predominantly from trainees in medium sized and small vessels, however this preoccupation with living space is more widespread. *Sir*

Winston Churchill accommodates trainees in a 'half deck' which occupies the forward third or so of the vessel. It is a single continuous space about fifteen metres fore and aft, by eight at its widest. Bunks are ranged along the side in three tiers with two long tables in the central area. The proportions of private to shared and public space are very different from those typical of smaller vessels. Bunks are extremely restricted in respect of headroom (with no room to sit up in most cases) but the semi-private and public spaces are somewhat more generous, even allowing for the much larger number of occupants. This view is reflected in trainees' accounts which express a stronger preoccupation with the problems of living with a large group in this shared space, than with the nature and limits of the space itself.



Plate 3: Life in the half-deck, Sir Winston Churchill

During a voyage trainees display a range of modes of movement within the space of their vessel, with temporal, spatial and conditional contexts all serving to modify those modes of movement. To deal first with the temporal, the changes in modes of movement

over the duration of a voyage offer evidence of both adaptation to the new environment expressed through faster, more confident movement, and in many cases of growing awareness of the problems and risks of movement in a moving vessel. The change is expressed through more careful deliberate movements when conditions are interpreted as demanding that. The first voyage recorded as fieldwork provided some particularly powerful examples. The trainees were with one exception in their very early teens, and the voyage aboard Lord Rank began and ended in Bangor N.I., visiting a number of ports and islands within the Firth of Clyde in April 1998.

A note made at the time records their arrival aboard :

They step quite gingerly onto the deck, picking their way quite cautiously among the deck fittings. One girl asks me "Is it all right to go this way?" as she negotiates the obstacles between her point of arrival on the deck and the companionway (the hatch and steps leading below). A boy (R) steps awkwardly *through* the guard rails, finding his legs and feet caught almost inextricably. He has to step back onto the harbour ladder, and step back down *over* the rail. Interpreting his movements it appears as though he can't make proper sense what he is seeing. The physical experience of tangling with the obstacle provides the opportunity to revise the strategy and his second attempt is more graceful. (Fieldnote, Lord Rank 1998)

This is followed in due course by formal instruction on how to walk around the deck. The main emphasis is on using the safety harness to clip on to the jackstays (ropes stretched along the decks for this sole purpose) and changing the harness clip from one jackstay to the next as required. The solemn ritual of this 'deck walk' also introduces trainees to the masts, a whole range of deck fittings and equipment but its most important purpose is to begin to communicate the importance that is placed on 'clipping on' when moving about on deck.

"Don't run about on deck!"

This harness discipline is such a fundamental safety procedure that I find myself saying "clip on" or; "remember to clip yourself on" many times each day. By the second day at sea most of the trainees are moving more confidently about the deck, clipping on with their harnesses and moving more carefully as the angle of heel increases. By the final

day we have reached a stage where, in benign conditions, the twelve and thirteen year old boys are treating the deck as a playground:

We're roughly half way across the North Channel, doing 6-7 knots in about a Force 3. Very enjoyable, a beautiful sunny day. The sea conditions are pleasant with moderate waves and no swell to speak of. with a nice wind and the boat sailing along very nicely. Everybody I can see is looking very relaxed and fairly cheerful. There is some kind of movement going on in the cockpit and suddenly R jumps up and runs over the coachroof, past the mast on to the foredeck. One of the mates remonstrates with him 'I've told you before not to run about the deck. You could easily go over the side.' What strikes me however is the change from 4 days ago when they were all tentatively tiptoeing around, to the utter confidence of R's run. He moved with absolute confidence, his adaptation to this environment seemingly absolute. (Fieldnote, *Lord Rank* 1998)

This incident, when set alongside other observations reveals a good deal more about how risk is understood by trainees, and how their movements about the vessel express that understanding.

In differentiating spaces, trainees' actions express distinctions in relation to where they are on the boat. Different areas are understood as safe, as having potential risks and as having inherent risks. These categories are established initially by staff in safety instruction, where for example the galley is identified as having potential risks because of heat, fire and hot liquids. The deck is explained as having different zones with various degrees and combinations of potential and inherent risks. The whole deck area has an inherent risk in relation to falling off the boat, and some areas are potentially very risky particularly when operations such as sail handling are taking place, creating dangers from the movement of heavy objects or the thrashing of unrestrained sheets (the ropes that control sail trim).

Safe areas include the saloon and sleeping cabins. The cockpit (an open but protected area of the deck) is particularly interesting in that it is treated as having quite an ambiguous status in relation to safety, strongly contingent on weather and sea conditions for example. In a similar sense the area immediately to either side of the mainmast is treated as 'safe-er' in respect to the risks from sail handling, the rigging offering some

protection both from falling risks and from thrashing sheets. While these distinctions are initially ascribed by staff, there is good evidence that trainees quickly begin to construct their own schemes of appropriate and inappropriate behaviours for different areas under different conditions.

Two days prior to the 'running on deck' incident described earlier, R and another twelve year old, M, invented a game which involved sliding down the saloon deck as the boat heeled. The saloon here was clearly defined as a 'safe' space in which such an activity was not only permissible but was seen as enjoyable. The same two trainees were to be seen a couple of hours later carefully monitoring one another's safety. R says 'Are youse clipped on M?' as they move up to the foredeck to help set a sail. The contrast between this moment and the fourth day when R attracted the attention of staff by running over the coachroof is illustrative of the way changing conditions influence trainees' perceptions of how safe or risky an area is.

R had in the latter event interpreted the sunny conditions, the moderate sea state and steady angle of heel as lowering the risk status of most of the deck, in the light of his growing familiarity with the setting, to allow him to move using an entirely different mode from that which had been appropriate a couple of days earlier. This also illustrates the third key influence on modes of movement. External conditions is the general category, covering the situation of the vessel, the physical attitude and motion of the vessel, wind and waves, weather more generally and lastly daylight and darkness. All of these combine to create a powerful set of influences on movement, particularly movement on deck. To pose extremes, a sunny day tied up alongside a pier in a sheltered bay makes the whole deck something more like an extension of the pier itself, movement is very relaxed and few distinctions in the ways different deck areas are treated are evident. At the other extreme, in a gale of wind, with heavy spray regularly sweeping over the deck on a cold dark night, even movement around the cockpit is conducted with great caution, using at least one hand as well as feet. Such conditions are not very unusual but they are not conducive to the recording of fieldnotes and no specific records are adduced.

It is in relation to the final category, that of watchkeeping, ships' routines and mealtimes that the sharpest distinctions between the practices on different types and sizes of vessels, and in different traditions, are apparent. One informant, J2, who took part in a seven day voyage on *Taikoo* had previous experience as a trainee aboard *Sir Winston Churchill*, and described the difference in approach between traditions as follows:

When I was on the *Churchill*, watches were more key, in that we did a lot more sailing for say a couple of days solid, you would really get into that watch rota, you would see people who were on watch, see people who were off watch, and then maybe at night trying to sleep as well. So that watch rota became quite important, and you would really get to know the people in your watch, and perhaps not know the other people so well. Obviously with more people on the boat, because you wouldn't see those watches because they were asleep while you were on deck. So there is perhaps more emphasis on that. (J2 Trainee, *Taikoo*, 1998)

This is consistent with the emphasis which emerged in the survey of sail training organisations. The STA places a particularly strong emphasis on these routines:

KM: Do you think there are particular advantages or benefits [to using larger vessels] as opposed to, for example, a boat that has twelve or fourteen young people aboard?

RK-J: Yes I do. I think there are because you can have a proper routine, you can have a ship's routine. I think for youngsters who've never been to sea before, you divide them into three watches with a proper system of watch leader and a watch officer and then the rest of the afterguard are professionals, gives them security, means you can supervise them better, you know there's... You've got them working the whole time under supervision which is safer. (Sir Robin Knox-Johnston, President STA, Interview 1999)

This emphasis on regularity (but not the implied claims of greater safety than on smaller vessels) was borne out for me by my own experience aboard *Sir Winston Churchill*, where one of the most striking features was the highly routinised arrangements for watchkeeping and mealtimes. Even the times that particular staff and trainees are to be wakened is governed by a routine, depending on which night watch they had worked. My first morning aboard *SWC* at sea provided an unplanned but very timely observation opportunity when I was mistakenly awakened an hour earlier than the routine prescribed and was able to use the time before breakfast to watch the early morning activity of deck

washing and general tidying up. A fellow member of staff indicated the view, when I appeared an hour early for breakfast, that whoever had woken me had committed a significant error but that nevertheless an early breakfast was not an available response.

In the Leisure Yachting tradition watchkeeping and routine are still evident but exhibit considerably more flexibility and less formality. The language is used differently, where 'watch' is used more often to refer to a group of people than to a period of work. In passage – making the idea of being on or off watch as offering a chance to rest vis-à-vis an obligation to work (as lookout or helmsperson) can become important but particularly in warm weather and moderate conditions the distinctions between those trainees 'on' and off' watch may be less clearly defined. It is really only in overnight or longer passages that a highly routinised watch system comes fully into play. In the PSD tradition it seems that a flexible approach is often even more evident, with the principle of voluntary participation extending to involvement in sailing tasks (as opposed to communal living tasks) generally.

Community and 'Institutionality'

The key focus of this chapter has been on what is different about *living at sea*, on the ways space is experienced and understood, on movement as an expression of responses to the vessel as an environment and on the interplay of routine and flexibility. Themes also addressed include the importance of food and cooking and what I have called the *institutionality* of life aboard. There is a close congruence between what is claimed for these aspects of participation, and what trainees have described and been seen to experience.

There is reason, on the basis of this evidence, to confirm the view that the different traditions and their distinctive practices, particularly in relation to the significance of routine, represent distinctive ideologies. This may best be explained as the institutional dimension. In smaller vessels, characteristic of the Leisure Yachting tradition, the institutional dimension is present as an inevitable consequence of the closed environment. It is not however particularly reinforced by routine. Indeed the more

flexible and less formalised approaches characteristic of this tradition might be seen as running counter to the idea of institutionality, and to be more appropriately understood as community. By contrast the very rigid routines of larger vessels may be understood as expressions of strong, almost in Foucault's (1991) term, austere, institutionality.

The requirements of routine are continually reinforced, and it is the authority of the institution rather than of individuals, expressed through the routine, that is invoked in larger vessels. It is markedly different from smaller vessels where not only is the routine less pervasive, it is day to-day-decision making about different meal times and watch routines that express the authority, less of the institution but the personal authority of the skipper and other staff. The ways this authority is exercised and the extent to which trainees are able to become participants in rather than objects of decision making is a central expression of ideological purpose.

Chapter 8: A Sailor's Life

One organising principle that distinguishes the matters considered in the previous chapter *Living At Sea*, and what follows here is the extent of choice available to participants. Nobody can completely avoid (short of jumping ship) the challenges that life at sea presents to individuals and the collective. Learning to live a sailor's life in the sense of developing the understanding and skills to play a full part in the working of the vessel is, by contrast, something that each trainee can to an extent opt in or out of. At one extreme on the spectrum of choice one might think of a fully engaged trainee, eager to learn all she or he can about sailing and seamanship, while at the opposite extreme is a genuine lack of curiosity regarding maritime technicalities. This latter position does not necessarily imply a negative view of the whole experience – it is not uncommon to find trainees apparently enjoying their involvement in a general sense but showing little interest in learning to live 'a sailor's life'. Intermediate positions would be occupied by those with, for example some curiosity about a particular aspect such as navigation, or in 'seeing how the boat works' as a sailing machine. This feature of participants' very different levels of engagement is both widely recognised by practitioners, and evident in the fieldwork data.

The central theme of this chapter is an exploration of the process of learning to be a sailor. This is a central issue in relation to the fifth research question: *How is the experience (of participation) perceived and understood by participants?* The process of acculturation is explored, and the nature of the change from naïve participant to crew member is analysed. Learning to live a sailor's life is considered as one process through which trainees can come to find their place in the community or institution of a ship's company. Some issues raised in earlier chapters, most notably the significance of vessel and rig design discussed in chapter 5, and the impact of voyage duration considered in chapter 6 are revisited. Two brief case studies, offering contrasts between both the characteristics of the vessels and the backgrounds and motivations of the trainees are presented to illustrate both some universal features and some areas of variance. The case

studies in this chapter are *Spirit of Fairbridge*, the 19th century style gaff schooner, an example of a traditionally rigged vessel, and *Lord Rank*, a modern ketch operated (at the time of the case study voyage) by Ocean Youth Club in Northern Ireland. The experiences of trainees on these two vessels offer useful illustrations of the processes involved and the case studies are supplemented by reference to data gathered aboard other vessels. The *Spirit* case study particularly addresses issues related to the acquisition of seamanship in the technical sense, and the *Lord Rank* data explores the emergence of patterns of co-operation among the trainees. The term *sailor-work* is used throughout the chapter as a convenient shorthand to represent the diverse range of language, skills and responses that trainees begin to acquire.

The focus is not however simply technical. The wider argument is that sail training vessels can be conceptualised as community or as total institutions, and that the authentic enclosure of the institution is the most important feature of the experience as an environment for learning. Data examining the processes of learning or acculturation show that the learning challenges of sailor-work involve not only individual progress and achievement, but are also important in relation to these themes of communality. In particular the authentic imperatives driving sailor-work are considered in relation to the development of trainees' concepts of communal, as well as individual, safety.

Claims about the nature and benefits of learning to participate in, and contribute to the sailor-work are evident in many of the interviews with practitioners and policy makers. These claims fall into two main categories, firstly claims about the benefits of trainees learning sailor-work. These are predominantly quite qualified claims and commonly prefaced with the qualification that sail training is 'not about teaching people to sail'.

One of the main purposes that it isn't, is sail training, you don't train them to sail, this is one of the things that we're always saying, we're really using offshore sailing as a medium to help the young people into all those rather Victorian sounding things that keep being trotted out, one of the most important being self-discovery. (John Hornsby, Former Chair STA Schooners Committee, Interview 1998)

The most striking feature of these statements about the purpose and benefits of sail training is the emphasis on aspects such as communal living and cooking, rather than on sailor work. Nonetheless there are expectations that participants will at least 'taste' the various skills and tasks:

I think [one thing that] is very important for people sailing with Ocean Youth Club is they actually get the chance to do everything on the boat. We don't set out to teach people to sail, as a sea school, but it would be unusual for people that are interested not to have the opportunity to actually take part in all the activities on board. (Ian Lerner, Fleet Manager Ocean Youth Club Interview 1998)

The benefit for the individual trainee is typically expressed as being the development of confidence or self-respect, for example:

You get people coming, perhaps a little worried, a little insecure, people who've been in the same groove all through their lives. [Going to sea] can have a tremendous effect on them. What happens is they're suddenly taken away, to a rather frightening, alien environment for most of them, the sea. Home for us but alien to them, they look in trepidation about climbing the mast, frightened of it, but they do it, and towards the end you know they're leaping around like monkeys. They come down and they finish and they've developed some confidence, some self-confidence, they're more self-assured. (Sir Robin Knox-Johnston, President STA Interview 1998)

The second category of claims about the benefits of trainees learning sailor work is about benefits for the sail training community. Its survival and renewal depend on the regular recruitment of new enthusiasts, and the trainees themselves form one very important source. It would be overstating the case to suggest that sail trainers simply engage in a process of cultural reproduction but this is too commonly mentioned to be ignored. Enthusiasm and interest for sailor-work among trainees are highly valorised by practitioners and frequently linked to the recruitment of new volunteer staff. Sail training organisations 'encourage them to return as mates and actually take part in the running of the vessel from the other side, if they have the time and the ability to do that'. (Ian Lerner, Fleet Manager Ocean Youth Club Interview 1998)

A variant of this is the deliberate blurring of the boundary between 'staff' and 'trainee' roles.

Young people, they may over a period of time have been referred a couple of times, and we have trainee positions on the boat and it may end up being that they want one of the trainee positions when it becomes vacant. [...] They quite often, if that is the driving force, if that is what they really want to do they have got to change significantly to a point where they can achieve that. That can be a really powerful one, they spend a year on the boat with us in one of the two training positions. (Tom Watson, Fairbridge, Interview 1999)

For young trainees learning to live as a sailor can be explained in several different ways. It can be understood, at face value, as being about induction into a culture, as about learning to take individual responsibility, acquiring knowledge and skills or about learning to work co-operatively. A second order explanation is that learning to live as a sailor can be about learning conformity and obedience to an established order of values, meanings, authority and knowledge. These explanations are neither mutually exclusive nor on the other hand universal. They are partial explanations, explaining in each case some limited ranges of features. The technical learning that takes place is, for most trainees, fairly basic, and the most consistent lessons are to do with developing confidence and learning to be a team member. The expressions of these different kinds of learning are firstly linguistic, shown in the ways trainees' talk about the work of the vessel changes over time, secondly physical, expressed through more confident handling of ropes and equipment, or more accurate steering, and thirdly social. These last are expressed in trainees' interactions with staff and in interactions between trainees around sailor-work. There is important evidence in these observable changes in support of the 'four days' model of trainee progression, but also in relation to the importance of prior experience.

There are four important concepts developed in this chapter as a framework for understanding the processes and values evident in learning sailor-work. Firstly there is techno-linguistic learning. This is concerned with recognising instructions or situations and acting accordingly. The names of different ropes, sails and other equipment have to

be internalised, their different uses understood and the sequences of operation rehearsed. More theoretically this process could be understood as trainees learning to 'remedy the indexicality' (Garfinkel 1967, 9) of the technical language. Such an analysis does not however take account of the learning of physical skills, and it is probably more helpful to consider this more straightforwardly as experiential learning (Boyd, et al. 1985).

The concept of *transitions* emerged in consideration of these particular learning processes. Life as a sailor often involves periods of relative passivity, where the situation simply requires steering, navigation and keeping a lookout, punctuated by transitions in the condition of the vessel, all of which require some tasks to be completed. An example of a major transition would be the change from a 'harbour' state, tied alongside a pier or to a mooring, to a 'seagoing' state. This transition involves a period of preparation (making all the ropes and fenders ready for the manoeuvre), a process of transition and a period of readjustment (coiling ropes and stowing these and the fenders away. A minor transition would be a course alteration, involving action by the person steering, adjustment to sail trim and possibly changes in the movement of the vessel. Some transitions involve circumstances or conditions of some difficulty and can represent major challenges for trainees. Working on the foredeck to reduce sail in strong winds and large seas can be very dramatic, with the deck moving up and down twenty feet or more, and spray or very possibly waves washing over the deck. When good safety precautions are taken this is far less hazardous than it may feel, but there is no doubt that the challenge for novices is considerable.

The second domain of learning is social, concerned with working with others, with communication around shared tasks, with authority, the division of labour and the organisation of work. This emerges firstly through consideration of short term tasks such as hoisting a sail, which would require several people to work together for a period of, typically, ten minutes to half an hour. It is also evident in relation to the longer term rhythm of life aboard, with trainees and staff organised in watches to ensure both that there is always someone steering and keeping a lookout, and that everyone has an opportunity to rest. Alongside this and in many respects enmeshed with it, lie the

domestic routines, already touched on in the previous chapter. Although learning to live as a sailor is, as has already been argued a choice trainees can to some extent opt in or out of, *living at sea* is integral to life as a sailor, in the sense that the rhythms of eating, sleeping and so on are preconditions of the experience. Life as a sailor should therefore be understood, particularly in relation to social learning, as a higher order category, resting on the foundation of living at sea.

Arising from the same data as these two domains of learning, is the theme of *cultural debunking* or *subversion*. These terms are used to describe a range of social and linguistic practices (mainly on the part of sail training staff) which debunk or challenge traditional notions of what it is to be a sailor. These are explained variously by practitioners as a form of occupational in-group humour, as a deliberate strategy of self-parody to lower barriers of understanding for trainees, or more critically as representing an authentic challenge to the 'establishment' values and symbols evident in much of the practice of maritime life. They appear to be differentially present in the different traditions; the Tall Ship tradition appears to take itself rather more seriously and seems much less prone to manifestations of subversion or debunking than other traditions.

An intriguing debate, which illustrates the positions, took place during the writing of this chapter in the Internet newsgroup alt.sailing.tall-ships regarding the most appropriate 'shorthand' names for STA's new vessels. *Sir Winston Churchill* and *Malcolm Miller* had been known widely among sail training activists as *Churchill* and *Miller* respectively. The new vessel's name was announced in the spring of 2000 as *Stavros S. Niarchos* after the main sponsor of her construction, a Greek shipowner. The impassioned debate was whether the 'correct' shorthand form should be *Stavros* or *Niarchos*. The former was identified with a more subversive, and the latter with an establishment position. Advocates of the latter rejected *Stavros* as sounding undignified and as culturally identified with a comedy character. It was precisely this debunking of seriousness that was explicitly being sought by the less 'establishment' position.

Finally there is a cluster of issues related to the dimensions of artifice and authenticity first raised in Chapter 5. Sailor-work involves a wide range of activities, many of which can appear strongly analogous to those widely employed in land based activities such as 'ropes courses' or outdoor problem solving exercises of the kind originating in military training and widely used in management development and similar programmes. The essence of the argument here is that in sail training the experience of participation in sailor-work contains an element of authenticity that is absent in some of its shore-based analogues. Life as a sailor is inextricably bound up with some acceptance of risk and with the willingness to discover ways of coping with such challenging situations. What distinguishes these challenges from the majority of activities employed in outdoor and adventure education is their authenticity and inescapability. In the Minch in a gale, with a sail to be taken down, there is no possibility that we (the vessel as a community) can simply stop and wait for better weather. The sail has to come down if the vessel is to be kept safe.

These themes and issues are firmly located in relation to the more general themes of community, institutionality and ideology. The authentic imperative to change sails in bad weather certainly involves challenges for individuals, working at a difficult task in unpleasant and even frightening conditions. What also distinguishes it from individual participation in abseiling or ropes courses is its communal significance. Keeping the boat safe is about collective rather than individual survival and should be understood as giving social meaning and purpose to individual acts of sailor-work. By successfully completing the task the individuals concerned have done far more than simply increase their own self-esteem, they have at whatever level of critical imperative was present, contributed to the physical survival of their particular ship's company.

Sailing an 'Old Gaffer'

The voyage considered here is in the PSD tradition. *Spirit of Fairbridge* operates voyages as part of the wider programme of the Fairbridge organisation. The 'course' begins for the trainees not with their arrival at the boat but their departure from the local

Fairbridge centre, whether that is in London, Liverpool, Glasgow or wherever, so by the time they arrive aboard their experience is already construed as having begun. In many respects the climate and culture aboard is very similar to that described earlier aboard *Taikoo*. Staff circulate quite freely between these organisations and it is unsurprising to find similar cultures aboard. The introductions, safety briefings and general pre-voyage activity are so similar as to be almost indistinguishable. It is considered here to illustrate the particular features of trainees' *lives as sailors*, aboard a traditionally rigged vessel.

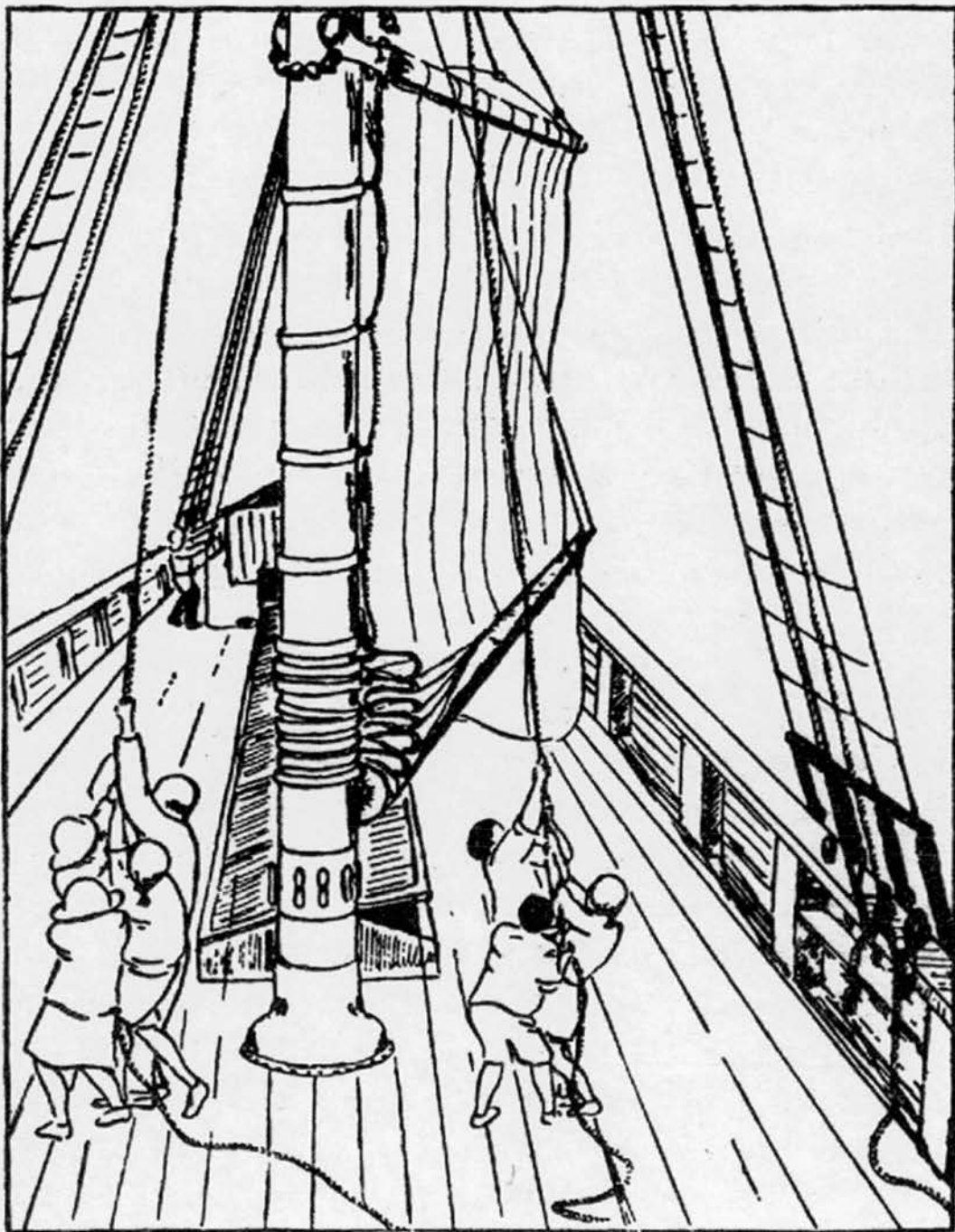
This particular voyage began at Greenock and was planned to finish at Oban five days later. The first night was a severe challenge for the trainees, and, it must be said for the numerically small staff group as well. The imperative of reaching Oban meant it was essential to make a passage down and around the Mull of Kintyre as early as possible. Major headlands like the Mull are the high mountain passes of coastal sailing. They generally have strong tidal currents and rough seas around them, and the passage must be carefully timed and planned with due regard for the weather conditions. In this case the decision was to make for Campbeltown, about ten miles short of the Mull itself, on the first day. As we were unable to leave Greenock until 1500 this was expected to mean arriving at our first port something after midnight. As it transpired the weather deteriorated more than expected and the passage to Campbeltown was very rough, very unpleasant and prolonged. One by one the trainees succumbed to seasickness and exhaustion, leaving the three staff and one trainee to sail the boat, and to lower the sails and drop anchor on arriving at Campbeltown after 0300 the following morning.

The following day was spent at anchor in Campbeltown, with departure planned for the evening to catch a favourable tide around the Mull. Much attention that day was devoted to negotiations with one of the trainees who had decided he wanted to leave the vessel. (This situation and its resolution are considered in some detail in Chapter 9.) We left harbour after supper and passed the Mull at one o'clock in the morning, arriving at Port Ellen, Islay, early the following morning. Having passed this major obstacle there was some scope for relaxation and some sense of choice about where to go between here and Oban. A beautiful sunny day prompted the skipper to suggest a barbecue on the beach

and a whole day and the following night was spent here. The warm sunny weather was in dramatic contrast to the hostile conditions of the first night, and the barbecue, on the afternoon of the third day, was a light-hearted, sociable occasion. Two more relaxed days sailing in pleasant conditions, with overnight stops at anchor, took us to Oban on the evening of our penultimate day.

The trainees' involvement in sail handling on this voyage, my first in *Spirit*, provides an important illustration of some key aspects of learning the techniques of sail handling. As described earlier this is a traditionally rigged vessel with two gaff sails (mainsail and foresail) and two headsails. In this vessel *learning the ropes* requires trainees to learn to work together on the relatively complex task of hoisting a gaff sail. These sails are attached to two spars, one at the foot extending aft from the mast, (the boom) and one (the gaff) at the top which extends upwards and aft from the mast at an angle, when the sail is set, of roughly 45 degrees. The sail is also attached, at its forward edge, to the mast. There is a fairly complex arrangement of ropes and tackles to lift the gaff and sail into position; to support the boom while the sail is hoisted and to control the sail once set. Hoisting involves two main groups of people, on either side of the mast, pulling halyards to lift the throat (the inner end of the gaff) and the outer end (the peak) up the mast. Setting a gaff sail involves hoisting the gaff horizontally, keeping it level until the luff (the edge of the sail against the mast) is straightened, so the people pulling on the two halyards have to be coordinated. In this vessel the practice is, by day three, to get one of the trainees to do this coordination, to say 'you lot (on one halyard) hold on' and (to the team on the other halyard) 'pull it up a bit more', 'lower the peak' or whatever might be necessary.

Watching the sail handling on day three of the voyage I was on the helm when we were coming out of our anchorage, and the skipper 'organised' trainees to set the sails. At this stage organising the task consisted of a little performance by the skipper which was to come on deck and say 'The sails need to go up. Why don't you lot just get on with it, and get this fore sail up?' And they did. The only instructions given to the trainees were



PRACTICE WITH THE HALYARDS

Plate 4: Hoisting a Gaff Sail.

about the sequence of hoisting the various sails. What had been happening over the previous days was on the first couple of occasions hoisting the sail under direct

supervision, then hoisting with close oversight from staff but under the control of a designated trainee.

Now by day three the trainees were simply given the task and asked to get on with it. Setting the mainsail there were seven trainees involved. This is a fairly large gaff sail, about eight metres or so along the boom. While an experienced crew, all well briefed and practised could complete the task with fewer people, seven people all had something genuinely meaningful to do, with two halyards (throat and peak) each with two or three people on them, a sheet to tend, and a number of other aspects to be attended to. A complex task is therefore created which people have to collaborate on in order to complete.

A dialogue developed among the trainees about the best way to pull ropes and about coordinating the exercise. A clear development is evident from blindly following directions to critical examination of the process. To start with people will put their whole weight on a rope as they begin to hoist the sail and then fall to the deck because they are working against little resistance. The illustrations on the following pages show, firstly, a trainee about to fall to the deck, as he misjudges the effort needed with the sail barely one third up.

After some more experience they are learning to use less effort in the early stages of the hoist, but more as the sail goes up and the weight in the ropes becomes greater. On the following page the illustration shows another trainee with his weight balancing the weight of the sail. Cooperation between the groups working on either side is also becoming more evident. This might also be seen as evidence of growing understanding of the nature of the task. Experienced seamen will hoist a sail with very few words needed, as each sees what is happening and acts according to a well established understanding.



Plate 5: Effort Misjudged.



Plate 6: Effort Well Judged

The techno-linguistic dimension of learning was clearly evident here in the progression of trainees from talking about 'this rope' or 'that rope' to the use of specifically nautical language, and in the development of skill in the task of, as described above, pulling up a sail. This emerged not through any external imposition of language but from the imperative of the task. The language used by staff (*peak* and *throat* in this case) was adopted spontaneously by the trainees to distinguish, in this case two groups hauling on different halyards simply because it made the task more understandable and more likely to be completed successfully.

The Modern Ketch - *Lord Rank*

In a comparative sense one might describe *Lord Rank* as 'hi-tech'. All the design, the rigging, sails and associated gear are of good modern design but represent tried and tested rather than cutting-edge technology. The sails and running rigging are polyester rather than the more exotic materials used on modern racing yachts, and their arrangement would be instantly comprehensible to any experienced sailor. This is 'high technology' not in an absolute sense but in comparison to the preceding example. As a setting for learning sailor-work there are two distinct differences between this and the preceding example. Firstly the sails and masts are simpler. The masts are taller and the Bermudan main and mizzen sail require fewer ropes to control them, particularly when setting or lowering sails. Secondly the arrangements for handling these ropes are different. Where *Spirit* has powerful traditional tackles or purchases, *Lord Rank* is equipped with more than a dozen powerful modern winches.

As the young trainees arrived aboard *Lord Rank* at Bangor the predominant impression was that all this was quite novel for most of them. As the boat was being prepared for departure I characterised the scene as 'orderly chaos' because the trainees were struggling to understand what was expected, and the volunteer staff were also struggling somewhat to come to grips with what needed to be done. As an observer, on this occasion sailing as 'legal' first mate while the work of that role was being done by an assessment candidate, it seemed moderately chaotic but not perhaps problematic. Very

little encouragement was needed to get the trainees to contribute to the work of preparing for sea, but it was evident that perhaps some of the various tasks were not being organised or explained particularly effectively by staff on this occasion.

Getting a 22m vessel ready for departure from harbour involves quite a number of specifics. Leaving harbour is normally done using engine power, although when conditions permit and the crew have reached sufficient levels of competence and co-ordination it can be and is regularly done under sail in many vessels. In this instance the sails needed to be prepared for hoisting (against the possibility of engine failure) which meant sail covers had to be removed, halyards connected and sheets 'led' correctly. The anchor needed to be prepared for use (again in case of loss of power) and the mooring warps rearranged so that they could be released, in sequence, from aboard the ship. All this can easily take most of an hour when being organised by a group of less than expert staff with a new crew of trainees. In this instance several jobs had to be done more than once in order to be sure, for example, that the warps could be released smoothly, without becoming caught up anywhere.

The trainees' responses to all this activity varied from at one extreme some degree of evident puzzlement about what they were being asked to do and why, to a rapid recognition of and engagement with the tasks. There were four boys who belong to a Scout group, and they stood out as generally much quicker than some of the others to grasp what is required in handling ropes and the ship's gear generally. The interpretation of this difference is that the Scouts are likely to have both extensive prior experiences of rope handling and tying knots, and of a range of analogous co-operative tasks such as putting up tents. This difference is by no means uniquely observed with Scout groups, but they have in several instances provided particular confirmation of a thesis that certain kinds of prior experience, not necessarily maritime, can predispose crews of trainees to an accelerated rate of progress.

The focus of observation in relation to the sailor's life on this voyage was not so much on the specifics of sail handling but more on the emergence of co-operation among the

trainees. This was a young crew, mostly aged from twelve to fourteen years old. Characteristically for a group of this age range there is a general willingness to participate in most activities, but a tendency in the early days to wait until they're asked to do things rather than recognising potential opportunities to contribute and offering themselves. One skipper on a voyage with a similar age group observed that one might see an individual struggling with a particular task, perhaps pulling a rope while two others sat watching them. The struggling worker would characteristically not ask the others for help, and the onlookers would not offer help until asked to by an adult. The response when asked would be willing and positive, suggesting that the scene described was not one of lack of willingness or interest, rather that the possibility of co-operation was not being recognised, or that perhaps some permission or instruction was seen as required before action could be initiated.

By the fourth day of this voyage it was apparent that many of the technical aspects of running the boat were being done much faster and more smoothly than in the first two days. The trainees were clearly developing familiarity with a range of transition tasks, seeing what needed to be done and how they might contribute. Behaviour clearly evidencing recognition of the benefits of two people pulling the same rope for example, rather than one person doing it on their own. The sails went up a lot more quickly on the Friday morning when we started putting up sails, with people working together much more effectively. The same was true of tacking, which seemed to involve less drama, and to have become much more of a routine transition than in the first two days. Part of that in this instance may also have been to do with the volunteer mates being more tuned in to what they were doing themselves, and actually co-ordinating the activities better.

On the following (final) day, at 0625 as preparations to leave Ardrossan harbour were being made I was struck by the observation that even at such an early hour the young crewmembers for the most part knew by now what everything was, and where it belonged. Staff were giving significantly fewer instructions than had been required in the first two or three days. Trainees could be seen bringing warps inboard and coiling them, putting sail covers away in their proper place, and generally doing everything that

needs to be done to prepare the vessel to leave harbour, without very much in the way of instructions being passed by the mates at all. This case study is typical of observations of most voyages, in respect of the time normally taken for a group of young people to come together as a crew and start working effectively as a group. This particular case is a powerful example precisely because of the sharp contrasts between behaviour observed in the early days and later in the voyage. With only limited variations this pattern of development has been observed in most voyage cases. An important exception has been when groups with a significant history of working together come aboard. A Scout group from Norfolk, referred to previously, offered a striking example of this kind.

Seamanship and ‘Learning the Ropes’.

The transition from, in the historic language, ‘landsman’ to sailor is well documented and has been described in many accounts. Learning the ropes is a phrase that has slipped so deeply into our language that its original and very specific meaning has in large measure been lost sight of. The metaphor has lost contact, for most uses, with its origins. Newby vividly describes the problem of learning the ropes as experienced by a new trainee sailor on a square-rigger.

‘You know the names of all the yards?’ asked Vytautas.

‘Yes,’ I said. I thought I did.

‘But do you know buntlines from leechlines and clewlines and the difference between a sheet and a tack? You will have to know these things, you will have to know them in Swedish, and you will have to find them at night.’ Newby (1990 , 47)

The core of the task, even when – for all the difference it makes – the language is one in which the novice is fluent, is very literally that of learning to distinguish the different identities and uses of a whole range of ropes. Even on a comparatively simple modern ketch there are (for example) *halyards* which are used to pull sails up the masts, *sheets* for each of several sails to ‘trim’ or adjust the sails for different wind directions, *running backstays* to support the mast, a *topping lift*, a *kicking strap* and sometimes a *preventer* to control the boom. Alongside all this *running rigging*, that is ropes which can be

pulled, slackened or adjusted, is a whole web of fixed or *standing rigging* to hold up the masts and balance the forces of the sails.



Plate 7: Foredeck – Sir Winston Churchill

On a traditionally rigged vessel there will be twice as many of almost everything, and square sails each require a further set of lines to control the sail. Plate 7 shows a section of Sir Winston Churchill's foredeck, and gives an impression of the problem confronting a novice 'learning the ropes' on such a vessel. Even a relatively simple vessel has particular features of rig, machinery and operation that a sailor arriving aboard needs to recognise and absorb. This can be a significant problem for an experienced sailor but for a novice can present an enormous challenge.

Trainees typically respond to the problem with expressions of perplexity:

S: I didn't expect there to be so many ropes to deal with.

KM: Was that something that was noticeable when you first came on?

S: In a way it was kind of daunting to look at so many things that you might need to be in charge of later on. Kind of getting used to it now, seeing them all, just need a wee push along if I get them mixed up or whatever. Finding it easier.

(S, Trainee, Taikoo, 1998 - *Day 2*)

- and often some degree of anxiety. The idea of being responsible for some operation involving the ship's rigging, and the perceived risks of pulling or letting go of the wrong rope, at the wrong time, loom large for many novice trainees. The risks are typically overstated by trainees, fears of 'doing something wrong', or more specifically 'pulling the wrong rope so the boat goes over' having little basis in the reality as perceived by staff. Typically these anxieties diminish as familiarity with the vessel and her gear grows. The real consequences of mistakes by trainees in handling rigging are more of the order of possible injuries to people or minor damage to the sails or rigging, the kinds of catastrophe feared by trainees being unlikely in most circumstances.

A key to understanding the process by which trainees progress from this initial state of confusion and anxiety is the concept of transitions. Learning to become a sailor can be understood as firstly learning what the ropes are called, and what the sails and spars to which they connect are. The second stage is to recognise the various transitions that need to be accomplished at different times. A transition is any change in the state or condition of the vessel, from anchored to under weigh, or from having full sail set in moderate wind to having fewer, smaller sails set as the wind increases. Transitions can be major or minor, the distinction arising from the routine character or otherwise of each transition and, to some extent from the number of people required to execute the transition. Thus major transitions include altering the sailplan, which might involve taking down one sail and substituting a larger or smaller sail in its place, or reefing a sail – reducing the size of a sail by rolling or folding part away. Another major transition would be a response to location, as when entering a narrow channel and very precise positioning of the vessel becoming imperative in order to avoid running aground.

	Description	Trainees' View	Staff View
Major Transitions	<i>What the transition involves</i>	<i>How trainees experience the transition</i>	<i>How staff direct their attention during the transition</i>
<i>From 'harbour' to 'seagoing' state</i>	Preparing to leave or arrive at harbour. Warps and fenders need to be prepared, stowed or adjusted	Handling ropes and fenders, tying and undoing knots. Listening to instructions	Maintaining the safety of trainees; avoiding damage to the vessel and her neighbours.
<i>From 'passage making' to 'pilotage'</i>	The change from open waters to confined waters close to hazards (or vice versa) with risks of grounding or collision.	Often difficult for trainees to understand the change in atmosphere from relaxed to one where some of the staff are preoccupied and less communicative.	Preoccupation with the safety of the vessel rather than with the well-being of individual trainees.
<i>Altering sailplan</i>	Reducing or increasing sail. May involve changing (headsails) for larger or smaller, and reefing or 'shaking out' reefed mainsail / mizzen etc. Includes the transition from 'sailing' to 'motoring'.	Noise and confusion. Large sails going up or down can appear hard to control. Sails may 'flog' as they are being hoisted or dropped which can be noisy and frightening.	Major safety concerns – extensive possibilities for injury and damage both to trainees and to equipment. Control (manoeuvrability) of vessel is reduced during the transition.
<i>Man Overboard Recovery</i>	Practising the routines for recovering a person overboard from the water.	The only emergency drill which is routinely fully rehearsed. Trainees play a limited role.	A stressful moment! In most vessels a member of staff undergoing training or assessment usually conducts MOB drill.
Minor Transitions			
<i>Course Alteration or sail trimming (including action to avoid collision).</i>	When the wind direction changes, or a hazard has to be avoided, the sails will need to be adjusted to suit the changed course or wind direction	Reasons for acting at a particular time may not be obvious.	Maintaining efficient sailing, maintaining a safe distance from hazards (which may or may not be visible).
<i>Tacking & Gybing</i>	Turning to bring the wind from one side of the boat to the other	Initially quite perplexing – "why are we going the other way now"	Concern with safety and also with completing the manoeuvre smoothly.
<i>Watch Changes</i>	The group about to finish their time on watch have to call their replacements in time to ensure that they are ready to take over.	Transition from resting to responsibility. Most significant on longer (e.g. overnight) passages.	Safety of trainees esp. when coming on deck in the dark. Passing on information to colleagues about position, course, and other vessels.

Table 4: Major and Minor Transitions

Minor transitions by contrast are routine, happen frequently and only require a fairly simple set of actions. Tacking or gybing, the manoeuvres needed to bring the wind from

one side of the vessel to the other are routine transitions, and might (especially tacking) be required many times in a single day. Repeated exposure to these transitions enables trainees to learn appropriate responses in each case, whether that might involve releasing the tension in a sheet at the correct moment, operating a winch or handling the helm. Initial anxiety is common:

When I came I thought there is no way I am going to be able to do it, ever.
Because there is too many ropes, I am going to do something completely wrong.
I seemed to handle it OK, and really enjoyed doing sailing.(Trainee, Sir Winston Churchill, 1999 - *Day 12*)

However most trainees quickly develop some confidence and a sense of their own capacity to take responsibility for a particular task.

Collective Safety

A core preoccupation for staff on any vessel is the maintenance of the vessel's overall safety. This is quite fundamental and fairly simple in its essentials. It can be summed up as keeping the water outside the boat, the people inside, and avoiding setting the boat on fire. The latter is a domestic matter, not truly the concern here. The former can be achieved mainly by avoiding collisions with other vessels and rocks. Training of practitioners in sail training at the senior levels constantly emphasises this 'overview' to the extent that the *first* question in one's mind when any crisis or emergency, be it medical, technical or social, arises, is: 'Is the boat safe?' Only when satisfied that no immediate or approaching danger *to the boat* exists will a skipper or first mate direct her or his attention to whatever other demand has arisen.

There is good evidence that for some trainees an awareness of this dimension is present from a very early stage. The anxieties described earlier regarding the imagined consequences of individual acts can be understood as the expression of awareness of the consequences of individual acts for the vessel as a whole and therefore for the ship's company as a communal entity. Such awareness may not be universal and there is good reason to believe that trainees approach this from widely differing initial levels of capacity to recognise the issue. The emergence of this conceptualisation of communality

in relation to sailor-work is initially expressed in relation to the specifics of particular tasks and the requirement for 'teamwork', as in the following example:

KM: You mentioned teamwork. Can you give me any examples of that?

K: When everyone has to pull up the anchor, everyone works as a team. When we put up the sails everyone works as a team, it's not just one person does it all. If it's not like teamwork then it doesn't work. (K, Trainee *Taikoo* June 1998 Day 2)

Such expressions are widespread in the data, appearing in interviews during all stages of most voyages. More abstract notions of communal safety are more common towards the end of voyages:

KM: You are told what to do here on the boat. You don't get told what to do at school?

SC: Well you are yes, but you don't always pay attention at school. You think more about it out here. I think it's because anything could go wrong if you didn't do something. If somebody doesn't pull a rope, you are not going to go over, but it wouldn't work. (SC, Trainee *Taikoo* June 1998 Day 4)

The trainees in these and similar examples are not claimed to be internalising the staff' mantra 'Is the boat safe?'. There is clear evidence here that the relationship between individual acts, particularly in the domain of sailor-work, and the ship's company as a whole, are established and that the conceptualisations are elaborated over time. Through this emergent 'documentation' of the setting and their role in it, trainees can be understood to be actively involved in the construction of the boundaries of the vessel. Safety as a concern for individuals becomes, over time, less of a preoccupation with individual's risk management and more concerned with the potential risks for the vessel's physical and social integrity. The physical and social boundaries come to be recognised as interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

Subversion or Cultural Debunking.

The language that practitioners in sail training use to describe their activities and to communicate within the work is quite diverse in style and content. To focus on what I have called cultural debunking is useful both in the clues it offers to understanding

implicit, context bound value positions, but also as a distinctive signifier of the differences between traditions. There are three contexts in which such language emerges. Thinking first about the ways skippers or masters talk about their work and roles, clear contrasts are evident, as the following extracts show. The Italics are used here to highlight the language used to describe the speaker's professional role.

I went as *master* of the Malcolm Miller and then later as *master* of the Sir Winston Churchill. (and) I went and I was the first *captain* of the Lord Nelson. [...] I also did relief *captain* in the Royalist [the Sea Cadet Corps vessel] (Mark Kemmis-Betty, Interview 1999)

Contrasts with:

I was a staff relief *skipper* at the time but on this particular occasion I was *driving* Spirit of Boadicea for a couple of weeks. (Chris Payne, Interview 1999)

Driving here is particularly interesting. It is commonly used not only for the actions of steering and manoeuvring the vessel, but to describe the role of overall responsibility carried by the skipper. Similar contrasts are evident in the second context, the everyday language of practice or work-talk. In the yachting tradition of sail training it is common to talk of *driving* the vessel out of a harbour, or of *parking up* against a quay. This is in contrast with the more self-consciously nautical language of *getting under weigh*, or of *mooring alongside* that appears to be more commonly used in the Tall Ship tradition. In preparing to secure the vessel alongside a harbour wall or quay, a number of heavy ropes (warps) are required along with inflatable fenders to protect the hull from damage. These items may be referred to as balloons and string rather than by their official nautical terms, but again such usages appear to be less common in the Tall Ship tradition.

The third context for such language is in exchanges with trainees. Staff may deliberately and systematically use language selected for its familiarity for trainees, as a strategy intended to 'make the strange familiar' in the trainees' eyes. Thus the ship's bow and stern can become the pointy and blunt ends, the heads are described as toilets, sleeping cabins as bedrooms and galleys become kitchens.

I think it's easier for the youngsters if you use the familiar words. There's enough for them to learn when they first arrive without making them learn a lot of new words just for the sake of it. (Nick Fleming, Boat Manager OYTS, Interview 2001)

Once again this approach seems more common in the yachting traditions than in the Tall Ship tradition. In the latter the adoption of the specialised, indexical language of the culture by trainees is systematically cultivated, both in relation to things such as parts of the vessel but also in relation to events. A morning or afternoon tea break for example is known aboard an STA vessel as 'smoko', a term that appears to be of Naval origin and to refer originally to a tobacco break rather than, as here, to refreshments.

These different contexts describe but do not fully explain this subversive language. Its differential emergence in different tradition-contexts suggests that there is some deeper significance to this than simply as a form of humour or as a strategy for making trainees' experience less difficult. It is bound up with the origins of, and therefore with the values or ideologies manifest in, the different traditions. In the Tall Ship tradition there is a desire to recreate some features of a historic past, both through the retention of 'traditional' methods of working a ship, but also through the expression of 'traditional' systems of authority and hierarchy. The authority of the language system is an important element. What things are called and how events are described gives them dignity and significance. By contrast the origins of the Leisure Yachting tradition in post-war egalitarianism permit a more ironic, less respectful attitude to the traditions of authority and the authority of language.

Risk, Authenticity and Artifice

The final theme of this chapter connects to issues raised earlier in relation to the design of vessels and particularly to the design of sailing rigs. The core argument is that learning sailor work provides opportunities for learning in some respects similar to land based activities such as the popular 'ropes courses' and similar practical problem solving. The imperatives of being at sea however provide a context for learning which demands attention and task completion in a way that no contrived activity, no matter

how ingenious, can imitate. To reprise a line from earlier in this chapter 'In the Minch in a gale, with a sail to be taken down, there is no possibility that we can simply stop and wait for better weather.'

The second dimension of this argument is that in a vessel at sea the risks are communal in a way that is not always perceived as being the case in land-based activities. The teenager inching her way across a rope bridge between two trees may feel herself to be in a vulnerable position, but her co-participants may be safely observing from ground level. Her analogue on the foredeck of a sailing vessel, taking down a sail as the wind and sea both rise is very obviously acting not just with self-interest but in the interests of the vessel as a whole. No great length of time at sea is needed for young trainees to recognise that the vessel keeps us all safe together, and that the risks of being at sea while apparently manageable are very real and are inescapable in quite a different way from almost any land-based activity.

The parallel with 'ropes courses' here is a considered choice. There are elements of sailor work that provide some similar kinds of challenges. Most obviously the imperative of work aloft to loose or stow sails on a square-rigged vessel involves climbing, working at a height (and on an unsteady structure) towards the completion of a specific task. Like the ropes course the task is set out for the participants, there are social rewards for its completion and the risks are controllable through the use of safety equipment. Unlike the ropes course, there are consequences if the task is not achieved. If, so to speak, I fail to 'complete' a ropes course then that personal failure may have limited consequences. If on the other hand I fail to stow a sail, then unless someone does succeed the sail might, in extremis, be damaged and the vessel partially disabled. Even where the inclusion of square sails in a vessel's rig can be understood as artifice, once they are there then the need to manage these sails creates a very authentic demand for this work to be done.

In vessels without the imperative of work aloft, mast climbing is nevertheless a regular activity. There are occasions when it is necessary for someone to climb the mast of a

modern ketch for example, to maintain lamps, rigging or instruments at the masthead. The majority of mast climbing in such vessels is however done by trainees as a simple challenge undertaken for its own sake. This is much more like the ropes course setting and is an individualised, consequence-free activity. This is not however grounds to challenge the argument, because mast climbing for pleasure is an option for trainees, undertaken while the vessel is stationary. It is not in this analysis the imperative of work aloft that, as is often claimed, creates the special character of sailor-work. It is the imperative of action being required rather than an option. The challenge and perception of risk working on the foredeck of a 20 metre vessel in what sailors would think of as 'lively' conditions is different from but no less than that involved in working aloft in a 50 metre square-rigger

This element of authentic risk is central to understanding of sailor-work and its importance for trainees. The essence is well summed up as follows:

You don't have to set situations up. [...] That is a benefit, it is also a minus, is that it is a very real risk environment. In sail training. In mainstream outdoor education there is a risk, but that in the main can be more easily managed because you can control your environment, in Spirit it's more difficult to control the environment therefore the risk is very very real and the impact of that risk on young people is quite significant because they are part of a team which has to manage that risk. (Tom Watson, Scottish Area Manager, Fairbridge, Interview 1999)

In conclusion it is important to revisit the broader themes, to place sailor-work in its wider context. It involves a whole range of technical and safety problems for practitioners and trainees to negotiate, and in an important sense it is sailor-work that is of the essence of the experience for most trainees. Many practitioners and policy makers talk of the technicalities as given, as, in a sense, objective conditions of the experience. There is good reason to believe that there is rather more to the matter than this. As has been illustrated and argued here, sailor-work involves expressions of value and ideology,

evidenced by the use of language and the approaches of practitioners. Its conduct expresses constructions of authority both at the level of specific acts and through the structuring of activity over time.

Most significantly the imperative of authenticity and communal safety provides an important reinforcement to the concept of the ship's company as a community of mutual dependence. The imperatives of seafaring create both the boundary and the necessity of co-operation, and the communal dimension must therefore be understood as the single most important feature of the experience. The penultimate chapter considers claims in relation to the particular benefits of participation for individuals, in the context of evidence arising from challenges to the boundaries.

Chapter 9: Institutionalality and the Benefits of Sail Training

Ships as Total Institutions

This penultimate chapter builds on and adds to the evidence already adduced for the view that a Sail Training Vessel should be understood as a kind of closed or ‘total’ institution. This chapter develops three main themes. Firstly, it is argued that different forms of ‘communality’ and ‘institutionality’ can be distinguished by the different ways power is exercised and dissent managed. Secondly that it is the ways boundaries are defined and created that creates a setting that can be understood as an institution. Finally, that it is the uniquely impermeable boundaries created by a ship at sea that both define sail training and, more than any other factor, give it its particular power as an experience.

Working within a theory-testing methodological modality, the question to be considered concerns the extent to which existing ideas about the nature of closed institutions describe features or characteristics that are evident in sail training. To what extent does the experience of life in a sail training vessel resemble life in other types of closed institution? To answer this question it is necessary to consider what is understood as the character of a closed institution, and what kinds of social settings fall within this category. Two sources stand out as offering frameworks for a theoretical model or models of the closed or total institution. In *Asylums* (Goffman 1968), an analysis of the practices of Mental Hospitals in mid-twentieth century America is interwoven with evidence regarding the practices of (*inter alia*) prisons, concentration camps, boarding schools, convents and, crucially in the present context, ships. A number of features are treated, in this analysis, as indicative of the existence of a total institution. Goffman however does preface his analysis with an important caveat:

None of the elements I will describe seems peculiar to total institutions, and none seems to be shared by every one of them; what is distinctive about total institutions is that each exhibits to an intense degree many items in this family of attributes. In speaking of ‘common characteristics’ I will be using this phrase in a way that is restricted but I think logically defensible. At the same time this

permits using the method of ideal types, establishing common features with the hope of highlighting significant differences later. (Goffman 1968, 17)

In Goffman's model, a number of variable features are identified including role differences with both staff and inmate groups, modes of recruitment of staff and 'inmates', permeability in the sense of difference between social life and standards within and outside the boundary, and the destinations or 'social fate' of their 'graduates'. He describes the 'staff world' and the 'inmate world' in some detail and uses the concept of 'institutional ceremony' to categorise events which establish by staging, 'a difference between two constructed categories of persons – a difference in social quality and moral character, a difference in perceptions of self and other' (Goffman 1968, 104).

The second key source is *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Foucault 1991). The focus is much more specific but nevertheless a number of general themes emerge. Foucault describes the prison as 'based first of all on the simple form of "deprivation of liberty"' (1991:232) and secondly on its role as 'an apparatus for transforming individuals'. In the first respect, participation in a sea voyage does involve some degree of deprivation of liberty, at least while the vessel is at sea. In relation to Foucault's description of prison, evidence already adduced shows that 'transforming individuals' is an explicit purpose widely expressed for sail training. The parallel begins to break down when claims regarding transformation are examined; it would be difficult to sustain an argument that a week or so at sea can have the same impact as a lengthy prison sentence. Nevertheless the intention to create some kind of change in participants is clearly present. It is also worth noting that some participants have offered the prison analogy with their own experience. On one visit to the half-deck on *Sir Winston Churchill* a trainee (who had experienced custody in a military prison) greeted me with a smile and the words 'So you've come to see how the prisoners live?' (BJ, Trainee, *Sir Winston Churchill*, Day 9).

In considering the utility of such a framework for the analysis of sail training, or of seafaring more generally, Gerstenberger's (1996) critique of Goffman must be considered. The argument advanced is essentially that historical evidence regarding the

practices of shipboard life in the German merchant marine over three centuries undermines the claim that there are strong parallels between shipboard life and that of asylums, prisons or barracks. Gerstenberger argues that it is the use of particular economic and managerial strategies which 'determines the extent of authority and hierarchy aboard merchantmen' (Gerstenberger 1996, 175). The fundamental flaw in Gerstenberger's case here is the very narrow reading placed on Goffman. The historical evidence offered is intriguing and valuable for the insights it offers into the growth of hierarchy and the institutionalisation of authority, but fails to convince that the isolation imposed by a ship at sea does not, from a sociological viewpoint, make it far more like than unlike a monastery or a military unit.

Benefits and Transformations?

The benefits or transformations claimed to arise from participation are of two main kinds. Firstly there are a range of claims made regarding participation in a working group, teamwork and communal living. I have categorised these as 'group related benefit claims', where the emphasis is placed on membership, participation and collaboration. These claims are distinguishable in practitioners' and policy makers' accounts by their generalised, non-specific nature. Only rarely are examples of individual trainees cited in relation to these benefits. Those individuals' stories that do appear focus on trainees 'finding their place' in a group, usually in terms of positive changes in trainees' status in their group, as perceived by staff.

The second group of benefits are those related to individual's growth, learning or development. These are characterised as, on the one hand the growth of confidence or self-esteem, a set of concerns with psychological states and the 'inner being' of participants. Claims that sail training enables young people to develop confidence and increased self-esteem are almost universal, spread across all traditions and applying to all participants. Cases cited in this group often describe particular events as powerfully influential, for example:

Imagine a young 17 year old boy, who has not done many things, wasn't a Scout, wasn't Duke of Edinburgh Award, not done anything much, on the wheel of the Winston Churchill, they have come up the canal, it's his hour on the wheel, and they have quite a tricky turn at the end of the dock, the captain is stood up on top of the deck house, giving his orders back to the boy on the wheel. Starboard five, midships, Port ten, midships and so on. It's a big tricky manoeuvre, and finally the ship docks alongside. The captain comes down from his perch, and as he goes past the boy he says "Well done John, you did very well there", and the boy replies "That is the first time in my life I've ever felt important". (John Hamilton, Chair ASTO, Interview 1998)

The second category of benefit claims are about maturity and 'direction'. Many of the cases cited as examples of the benefits of sail training are of young people who have participated as trainees and subsequently made decisions about their future lives. These decisions are invariably characterised positively and are implicitly linked, in a causal sense, to the experience of sail training. Accounts of this kind typically fall into three somewhat overlapping categories, first, the middle- or upper-class 'drifter' who goes on to make good. This is in most accounts a public schoolboy, in one version 'the son of a lord lieutenant' who could not make up his mind about a career, or who has dropped out of university and following a ST voyage finds a new direction or purpose. The second type of example is the young offender who goes ashore reformed, no longer stealing cars or burgling. Thirdly there is a category of victims or misfits, most commonly young people labelled as drug users. The claims made in respect of all these stereotypes are quite similar, that participation in sail training can not only help them to discover self-worth, but can also be decisive in establishing some new career trajectory, transforming the drifter, delinquent or deviant into a robust self-reliant individual with a sense of purpose and direction.

While the first set of claims, about self-discovery and self-worth are expressed as universal, applying to all trainees, the examples given in the second category are exclusively male. Boys and young men are problematised in these accounts in a way that girls and young women are not. Gender renders invisible those young women whose participation may be associated with drifting, delinquency or deviance. There is ample evidence both from the fieldwork itself and from other experience that girls who have

been labelled in these ways do participate in sail training, often as part of a programme of treatment or education. Their stories rarely surface in the practitioners' and policy makers' accounts in relation to these features. It is reasonable to regard this issue, of participation in sail training as a response to some kind of failure to conform, as the subject of strongly gendered constructions.

Evidence from the fieldwork is largely, although in a quite limited sense, supportive of the kinds of claims I have described. Participants' accounts during voyages are generally congruent with those of practitioners. Many young people have expressed the idea of having clarified personal goals, resolving to 'sort things out' in one sense or another. It is simply not possible to say what the lasting effects of participation, if any, may be. It is difficult to disentangle causes and consequences, and it may be the case that participation in sail training is a sign of other changes in an individual's life, a consequence rather than a cause. It may be that the finding in relation to probation service clients (Bottomley and James 1994), that those who agreed to participate in ST as part of their programme were also those least likely to re-offend can be extrapolated more widely. This model would have participation in sail training as a rite of passage, chosen by the individual participant and symbolising some kind of break with a personal history, an expression of personal change rather than a cause.

Support for this version can be found particularly through consideration of the nature of participants' consent. It is widely believed by practitioners that little benefit is gained, and that major difficulties can occur, when participants have not made an active informed choice. There is a strong correlation between active choice to participate and positive response to the experience. Fieldwork data supports this view, with examples in several voyages of individual young people for whom their experience of participation was problematic in one way or another. It has been quite common for welfare agencies of one kind or another to 'send' young people on sail training voyages. It is easy to find cases where the young people concerned are highly resistant to even the liberal disciplines of the yachting tradition, and the experience appears unedifying. During the voyage on Sir Winston Churchill one trainee was very clearly a reluctant participant,

unwilling to cooperate with the ship's requirements much beyond eating and sleeping. It emerged that this boy had been 'recruited' almost at the last minute, to fill a vacant berth. Similar examples abound.

Whether sail training as life-changing event on the one hand, or sail training as rite of passage is the more convincing version, is not however the main concern here. The fieldwork evidence clearly supports the view that this is indeed a powerful experience, a significant event for participants. The main concern is to understand what it is about the experience that is important. The argument throughout has been that it is the inescapable mutuality of seafaring that is the central feature of the experience. Boundaries are created and maintained physically, temporally and through the emergence of authentic mutual dependence. Any sail training voyage can be understood either as the creation of an institution, or as community building. The distinction between community and institution in this usage arises from differences in respect of boundaries, authority, decision making and responses to dissent.

Conformity and Boundaries

Most voyages provide some readily identifiable data from which the idea of institutionality can be seen to emerge, in a theory-building sense. The progression over time towards conformity with the expectations and rituals of the vessel is strongly suggestive in many cases. The development of a shared vocabulary among the participants is another. The simple lack of choice about being present, in a ship at sea, is the most obvious. Some of the most compelling evidence from which the concepts of institutionality and community emerges from voyages which appear as negative cases, where the boundaries were breached or challenged. Three of the nine voyages undertaken specifically as fieldwork provide particularly powerful evidence of this kind. The first concerns circumstances where the boundaries were compromised by action from outside the vessel, by the parents of trainees, and the second is an example of a challenge to the boundary by a trainee from the inside. The first type where parents unintentionally initiated the conditions for a challenge to the boundary seems to be less

common. The events described were unique in my experience and described as ‘very unusual’ by the very experienced full- time skipper involved.

The second type of challenge to these boundaries is a fairly regular occurrence, both in my own experience and others’ accounts, and involves the sustained expression, by one or more trainees, of a desire to get off the boat and go home. It is important to distinguish singular expressions of unhappiness with the situation, which are fairly common, from more sustained challenges. The former, usually appearing when people are tired, cold and possibly seasick are transient, and are not confined to trainees. The more sustained, and from the point of view of ships’ staff, problematic, are when one or more trainees demand to be put ashore, often withdrawing some or all of their co-operation as a bargaining device. The second case study presents an example of this kind. Such events would be readily recognised by most practitioners as an occasional occurrence. They tend to be associated with particular sets of circumstances and particular categories of trainees, particularly younger teenage boys. One practitioner observed:

DW: It’s the 14, 15-year-old boys who are the most common dropouts. They seem to get the wrong end of the stick.

KM: Can you explain what you mean [by that]?

DW: In general they tend not to listen, at that age. They don’t really listen to what the course is about, and they come along with unrealistic expectations as to how demanding or challenging it will be. Then when it gets a wee bit rough, and they start to feel sick, or just cold or whatever, they decide they want to go home. I see that every few weeks. (Dougie Walker, Skipper *Spirit of Fairbridge*, Interview 2000)

More generally it appears that the nature and extent of trainees’ preparation for the experience is significant in relation to potential challenges. Folk-wisdom among practitioners suggests this, and observations both during the specific fieldwork and more broadly tend to support this view. Challenges to the institutional boundary in this common form of demand to terminate the experience associated with the withdrawal of co-operation seem nearly always to come from younger trainees who have had limited opportunities to develop an advance understanding of what they might be letting

themselves in for. Such cases also often appear to involve trainees who have acquiesced to participation at some adult's suggestion, rather than having given authentic, reasonably informed consent.

The third case considers a third type of breach in the institutional boundary, conceptualised as withdrawal of authority. This is a distinctly different kind of phenomenon from the first two in that it concerns the suspension of rules or boundaries by the institution itself, in a planned and deliberate way. It is nevertheless properly considered alongside these two preceding types on the grounds of analytical similarity. All three can be understood as instances of data that bring the nature and characteristics of institutional boundaries into sharp focus.

The first two case studies exemplify, respectively, both types of challenge to the boundary. Both were in a sense landmark events in the fieldwork in that they raised issues about the relationship of individuals to the collective, and the nature of trainees' commitment to or contract with the sail training context. The power of the evidence they represent resides unambiguously in their unusual nature and in the effects the events had on individuals and on the ship's company in each case. This was in the truest sense unsought data, which emerged directly into the foreground of attention, quite independent of a priori theorising or sensitising concepts.

'We thought we'd come and say hello'

This case study explores the experiences of a voyage in *James Cook* from North Shields to Aberdeen in July 1998. It reveals much about the importance of the institutional boundary of the sail training vessel. This is presented as a partly discrepant case, evidencing the effects of permeable institutional boundaries rather than the more usual strong boundary. A combination of factors created the potential for a sequence of events which demonstrate quite dramatically how participants' perceptions of the voyage and their role in it can be altered when the boundaries are breached. In this case the challenge to the boundaries was created, albeit unintentionally, by action from outside the boat, by trainees' parents. Its importance for the study lies in the way it

demonstrates, by comparing the experiences of two individual participants, how challenges to the institutional boundary from the outside can fundamentally change the nature of trainees' experiences

James Cook is one of two *Shipwright 70* vessels, specially designed for Ocean Youth Club in the 1980s. These were built as the first attempt to replace the Clark-Williams ketches but in the event only two were completed. The trainees on board were a group of younger teenagers from a school in the Northeast of England. They were 12 and 13 year olds and were accompanied by a member of staff from the school who had taken groups to sea on the same basis before. There were nine trainees and seven adults (five staff, a teacher from the school and one additional adult) aboard. The voyage started in North Shields on a Tuesday, with all the trainees and their adult leader arriving aboard about six pm. The evening was spent in harbour, having some food and doing what could be characterised as a typical voyage preparation, including fitting everyone out with waterproofs and safety harnesses, and conducting a routine safety briefing.

A key feature of the situation, crucial in creating the circumstances for the events that unfolded, was the geography of the voyage (See map in Appendix 1). The voyage had originally been planned as starting from Berwick. The eventual destination was Aberdeen, and the trainees came from the Berwick area. Bad weather in the days immediately before the voyage resulted in the voyage starting from North Shields on the River Tyne, about fifty miles further south. The voyage took them past their home area, and it was almost inevitable that we would visit more than one of a very limited number of ports between North Shields and the Firth of Forth, in the first two or three days. All of these potential ports of call were within easy reach, by car, of the trainees' homes.

On the first day we made a fairly uneventful passage, mainly under engine, to Amble, some 20 miles north of the Tyne. The motion was a little uncomfortable and quite a number of the trainees reported feeling seasick, several actually vomiting at various stages of the day. The following morning we left Amble in the morning and headed further up the coast to Eyemouth, which is about seven miles North of Berwick. During

the day in more comfortable conditions the young trainees began to participate quite energetically in learning to set sails, to tack and to steer the boat under sail. Everything, one might say was proceeding in quite a normal manner until we arrived in Eyemouth in the evening, at about 7.30 pm. Dinner was being prepared, to be ready soon after arriving in the harbour.

We tied up in Eyemouth to find that several sets of parents had decided to drive up and meet the boat 'Just to say hello and see how you were all doing.' as one put it. The progress of *James Cook* northward along the coast had been observed by those trainees' families able to do so and the vessel's position and likely ports of call were evidently accurately known by several families. This is in itself unusual, or at least very specific to this type of coastal passage. From the perspective of those outside the boat we had not disappeared over the horizon either literally or in the sense of moving beyond their immediate direct consciousness. From their point of view the boundary usually made evident for those ashore by the disappearance of the vessel from view was never properly created.

One of the trainees, R, had been finding the experience quite difficult. He had been mildly seasick the first day and still reported feeling nauseous some of the time on the second day. When he saw his mother he told her that he wanted to get off the boat and was not at all keen to stay. The skipper spoke to R and his mother at quite some length, about fifteen or twenty minutes standing on the quay chatting. R and his mother then went away and talked. R was evidently clear that he was not keen to go on, but the end of the discussion was that he decided or had been persuaded to stay on. On the following day he was seen smiling and looking as if he was quite pleased to be on the boat.

The incident exemplified an apparent opportunity for this young person to go back to what was safe and known, the person of his mother and the presence of the family car making it clear to him that if he really wanted to, he could get off. The persuasion that was exercised was to encourage him to stay on, to 'give it a chance' and to stay with what he'd committed himself to. We subsequently learned that another trainee, P, had

met his family and had had a similar conversation, but without involving the boat's staff in any way, eventually agreeing, with his father, to carry on 'for at least one more day'.

The following morning we departed northwards on an offshore passage, crossing the outer Firth of Forth, on our way to Montrose, where we tied up at around 1700. After some time tidying and cleaning the boat the trainees were told that dinner would be ready at 8 o'clock and that they should be back on board by 1930, giving them about an hour and a half on shore. The whole crew apart from the two cooks went ashore and reappeared at the agreed time. Dinner and the washing up were finished at about 2100. The trainees were told they could go ashore again, that they should be back on the boat about 2230 and that they could also have a couple of hours ashore the following morning. They all went ashore at this point. Most of the staff also went ashore at this point, and I was the staff member left in charge of the vessel. (I had volunteered for the role in order to make an opportunity to write up some notes.) At about 2130 several trainees who had been shopping for sweets returned, then at 2230 one of the trainees came to tell me "P's dad is here to take him home". It emerged that P had phoned his father to say he wanted to go home, not long after we had arrived.

On Thursday in Eyemouth he had met his parents, and had thought about leaving the boat then. He was persuaded by his parents to stay on for another day and during Friday he had given every impression of enjoying what he was doing, being interested and willing to participate in the life of the vessel. I had not seen him being sick but he said he was feeling sick and was seasick. Father turned up when the Skipper and the other staff were away. He and I had conversations with P, and with each other over about twentyfive minutes. P's father told me that he had promised the boy in Eyemouth that if he still wasn't happy being on the boat after another day, he would drive to wherever the boat was and take him home. He said that having made this promise to his son he felt he should keep his word. The conclusion was that P confirmed that he wanted to go. He took his belongings, which he had already packed, got in the car with his father and off they went, just as the rest of the staff were reappearing.

Unlike P, R had decided to finish the voyage. After we left Montrose I spoke to R about his decision:

KM: You stayed on when you could have got off. Can you say what that was about?

R: Well I felt ill for the first few days. I thought about getting off, when my mum came. She said to give it another day, and I still felt ill, but I thought there's only another two days left so I might as well just stay on, so I did.

KM: Was that a good decision?

R: Yes

KM: Why do you say that?

R: Well it's been good. I didn't like it much at first. It's OK though. I'm getting used to it and it's ok.

KM: Do you think if your mum hadn't been there, at Eyemouth, that you would have thought about getting off.

R: I might have thought about getting off but I wouldn't have been able to get home so I would have just stayed on then.

This illuminates the nature of boundaries. The visible presence of mum or dad and the discussion about the possibility of getting off the boat and going home seemed to open the boundary that being a member of the ship's company normally creates. Once the possibility is opened up for people to get off, they may choose to make use of it. The incident was the subject of some reflective discussion among the staff and the consensus was that we would not have expected this to happen if parents had not turned up in Eyemouth. This external challenge to the boundary is important because it is not simply a question of going into harbour and having the opportunity to go ashore. Rather it is the realisation that the boundary of the boat is a creation held together only by the consent of the participants. The presence of R's parents made it possible for him to see that boundary as one he could choose to ignore. By his own account he saw that possibility and considered it, and was persuaded not to cross. P on the other hand saw the permeability of the boundary, and took that knowledge with him to the next port, acting on his awareness of the possibility by phoning his father and asking to be collected.

In this case there are two particularly significant features that help define the nature of the boundary. Firstly, the continued physical presence of the vessel in the awareness of interested outside observers can, as I have suggested, be understood as a failure to create an effective boundary as seen from the outside. Their action then created the conditions for the revelation, for trainees, that the boundary around the vessel is (once in harbour) only maintained by the acquiescence of participants.

The Story of J

J was one of the trainees on my first voyage aboard *Spirit of Fairbridge* in June 2000, described in outline in Chapter 8. The focus of this instance is the way a single individual can create tensions and uncertainties for the whole ship's company through a challenge to the boundaries from the inside. In this case J, a fifteen year old boy, decided after about twenty four hours aboard in very unpleasant, challenging conditions, that he wanted to get off the boat and go home. Home in this case was Kent in the South of England, and the make-up of the group of trainees was such that his leaving would have extensive consequences. The practice in Fairbridge is not to permit young people under sixteen to make unaccompanied journeys, and the long coach journey home for J meant that he would have to be accompanied home by one of the two adult volunteers (not staff members) aboard. The other fifteen year old on the boat from the same area would also have to leave at the same time in order not to be travelling alone at the end of the voyage. This was already a minimally staffed vessel, and the loss of three members of the group may have put in doubt the possibility of reaching the planned destination port within the time available.

On the morning after we had arrived in Campbeltown after an unpleasant night passage from Greenock, nearly everyone got up that morning at about 0900, except J, who lay in his bunk until nearly 1000. The skipper went and talked quietly to him for a few minutes and he got up. Not long after getting out of bed J began to express a desire to go home, saying he was not feeling well. He had been fairly seasick the previous night, along with most of the other trainees. When I talked to him later in the morning about his wanting

to leave, he gave an account of having a virus that he had previously had four or five times.

It was impossible to release J to travel home on his own even if he wanted to because of his age. He agreed initially to stay on the boat for one more night. The staff accepted that, even though it was a somewhat misleading agreement. It may not perhaps have been clear to J that if he stayed on the boat, he might not be able to get off because we would subsequently be in places where getting off the boat and travelling to Southeast England by public transport would be an even more difficult proposition. The rest of that day was spent at anchor in Campbeltown, making some repairs and awaiting the favourable evening tide to pass the Mull of Kintyre. By five in the evening however J had made his mind up that he wanted to leave, he was no longer willing to stay on the boat, he wanted to go back home.

At that point it was clear that this challenge had potential major consequences for the voyage. The threat or desire to breach the boundaries by one person created potential changes for a number of other individuals. If J left one of the volunteers and another trainee would have to go with him. It is no exaggeration to say that 'the J problem' was a fundamental preoccupation of everyone aboard individually for most of that day, and therefore for the vessel as a whole. The problem was variously construed in terms of its consequences for individuals, and how the impact of J leaving might be minimised, and at the strategic level in relation to the voyage. Could we in fact proceed to Oban with only five or six trainees? Did the voyage plan need be revised to end up in Troon or in Ardrossan? These were all just speculations at the moment, illustrating very powerfully the difficulty created, and the significance of an individual choosing to or wishing to leave the boat. The management of the situation in this case was facilitated by the position of the vessel, at anchor in Campbeltown Loch. This maintained a physical boundary and prevented J from simply walking ashore as he might have done had *Spirit* been moored alongside the pier.

Investigating travel arrangements revealed difficulty in acceding to his wishes. The next bus to Glasgow was not until seven the following morning and *Spirit* would be leaving at ten o'clock the preceeding evening in response to the elemental imperatives of a favourable tide and forecast good weather. Eventually J was either persuaded to stay aboard, or perhaps came to realise himself that he was in a practical sense committed to staying with the boat for some time yet. The departure from Campbeltown was as planned, and the overnight passage to Islay was uneventful.

A major feature of practice in Fairbridge is the emphasis placed on reviewing each day's activity. This normally takes the form of a round – table meeting of all the trainees and staff. Various different techniques are used to focus on individual or communal issues and questions. In Port Ellen, after the beach barbecue everyone returned to the boat and joined a review, using a whiteboard to write up people's 'niggles'. A significant focus was on J and 'the way he was with people'. One of the volunteers (L) was trying hard to communicate a valuing message to J, that others wanted to see that J 'could enjoy himself', and that he was 'able to be part of the group'.

On Day 3 in the afternoon J made his second and most dramatic challenge to the boundaries. I was doing some sailor work by the foremast, and saw J walk past me, straight to the bow of the boat and step onto the bowsprit with no safety harness on, looking as though he was about to walk along it and fall or jump off. I didn't think much about what he was going to do at the time, just that he was standing out on the bowsprit without a harness on. I was really alarmed and shouted at him, 'J – get back in the boat right now!' He got back in the boat and sat in the bow for some time with his knees drawn up and his head bowed, his arms wrapped round his knees. He was clearly very unhappy. It emerged eventually that he had had a dispute with L, he physically had a go at L, a very large man in his mid twenties, who had pushed him away. J had bumped his head and come up on deck as described.

After dinner the review was quite wide ranging in focus, some attention was given both by staff and trainees to levels of participation and people being up on deck and taking

part in the sailor-work or not. The major focus once again however was talking about J. L raised the issue by talking about the incident that had happened between him and J. I talked about the fact that I had been really fearful for his safety when he walked out on the bowsprit. J made a remarkable contribution when he talked about how he was, expressing appreciation to people for the kinds of support they had been offering, and the ways people had been offering him positive encouragement of various kinds.

The threat or reality of a suicide attempt or para-suicide must surely be one of the most extreme challenges that could be presented. This series of events is however equally significant for what it reveals about the institutional boundary in itself, and for what it reveals about the Fairbridge approach. As an organisation Fairbridge is focussed on individuals and their improvement. It owes much to what Smith (1988) describes as the *rescuing tradition* in youth work. J was involved precisely because of a history of mental health difficulties. There was by the end of the voyage reason to suppose that he may have gone away from the experience with some positive learning about himself, his ways of relating to others and the possibilities and challenges of communal living. There is also however evidence here that the tension between concern for and with individuals can be in tension with concern for the whole, for the vessel and her company collectively.

This tension between individual and collective interests is neither unique to the sail training environment, nor is it only evident in a crisis such as J's. The parallel with other educational settings is evident, and the dilemma of individual versus collective welfare is familiar to most educators in schools and in less formal settings. This is often characterised as a problem of disproportionate attention: 'Teachers and others are aware of the time and effort which can be devoted to a small number of disaffected pupils, time which is, therefore, being denied the majority.' (Munn, et al. 2000, 43). In sail training this problem can be particularly acute not so much in relation to attention being unevenly given to trainees, but in relation to the tension between these concerns and the maritime imperatives. Trainees can require particular attention from staff for all kinds of

reasons, and the management of this tension is as familiar to sail training staff as it is to any Primary School teacher.

Talking through the emerging problem of J's demand to leave with the skipper, in Campbeltown harbour, he made just that observation about the Fairbridge view of the world, with its strong focus on the individual and on individual decision-making. In his words, 'in this situation individuals aren't important, it's the boat. It's the collective, it's what we contribute to that collective that is the absolutely crucial consideration. So individual decision-making, there is much less scope for it and that can be quite difficult for people to accept' (Dougie Walker, Skipper *Spirit of Fairbridge*, Interview 2000). This emphasis on the collectivity, whether understood as institution, community or in some other way is in a sense a discrepant case in the range of practices of Fairbridge as an organisation. Fairbridge has adopted sail training because of its perceived value as an experience, despite this relatively poor 'fit' in terms of the emphasis on collectivity rather than individuality.

Signing Off

This final case illustrates a third mode for the breaching of boundaries. I have characterised this as the *withdrawal of authority*. In this example we can see that the mirror image of the rituals of induction creates conditions where boundaries are explicitly abandoned and a whole range of behaviours made permissible. To return to *Sir Winston Churchill* at her berth in Hull, by late on the Friday afternoon the ship had been cleaned and a gathering of the entire company held. This was described as the 'captain's wash-up' and consisted of a short address by the captain, to the trainees. They were told that they had done well to complete the voyage, that they would be welcome to sail again, and that they would shortly be 'signed off' from the obligations undertaken at the start of the voyage.

Following the gathering, each trainee was called into the chartroom, their valuables returned and their name marked as 'discharged' on the ship's papers. The evening was then spent at a party in a local pub, which had been organised by the local STA

supporters' group. The bar closed at midnight and everyone then went back to the ship. The volunteer staff were allocated to a rota as 'deck watch' to ensure the security of the ship; my shift was from 2330 to 0100 of the following day. By midnight the numbers still on deck were down to a dozen or so, several small groups sitting around smoking and talking. Two of the staff began to ask people if they would go below and keep the noise down, and by about 0030 nearly all the trainees had gone below and from my point of view all was now quiet.

The next morning I had a conversation with one of the watch leaders about the party. She volunteered the information that after coming back to the ship a number of couples had been in bunks together in the half-deck and that one couple had been 'at it in the toilet'. This was reported in a matter-of-fact way and was seen as something of a source for amusement. Several trainees provided independent corroboration of this description of events. In the last few days of the voyage some of the younger staff had taken a great deal of pleasure in debating and constructing a 'love chart', trying to work out who fancied who, and which couples would pair up at the end of the voyage. It was very clear that this period of licence at the end of the voyage was seen as normal and as tacitly accepted.

Much had been made during the voyage of 'acceptable behaviour' and while sexuality was implicit as a focus it was not referred to directly. The message had been that physical relationships between trainees during the voyage were unacceptable. There was no evidence that, up until this final night, anyone had breached that boundary. The explicit, ritualised withdrawal of authority at the signing off was evidently understood by the trainees as suspending what had previously been understood as an acceptable rule for behaviour. The more senior staff appeared to be either unaware of, or ignoring, whatever was going on, while the younger, more junior staff all of whom had previous experience as trainees were apparently quite accepting and in some cases amused by whatever they were aware of.

The events at the close of this voyage might be interpreted in several ways. The age range of trainees might be seen as significant; young people in their late teens and early twenties will see themselves as autonomous adults, entitled to their own decisions in matters of sexual behaviour. The duration of the voyage may also be significant, two weeks providing a lengthy period for relationships and sexual interest to develop. Accounts of longer voyages certainly suggest the importance of duration as a factor. One informant, talking about a voyage of several weeks in the tropics with a mixed-sex group of twelve trainees in their late teens said: 'The biggest problem was sexual frustration. There we were all in this boat, with hardly any privacy and not wearing many clothes because it was so hot. The boat was awash with hormones.' (A, Ex-trainee, Interview 2001)

Sexuality can be understood in these contexts as a potentially subversive force, capable of undermining the authority of the institution. In the instance described above it was clearly to be understood as representing something very significant. The abandonment of earlier restraint permitted implicitly by the withdrawal of authority represents a breaching of the institutional boundary just as dramatic as those described earlier. The emergence of this striking phenomenon in the Tall Ship tradition with its roots in naval traditions might be part of the explanation. Up to 1840 British naval vessels customarily refused shore leave in harbour for fear that seamen would desert. The custom was that 'women, ostensibly wives, were allowed to live on board while the ship remained in harbour, and of course joined the men in their hammocks at night' (Kemp 1988,800). A period of sexual licence at the end of a modern sail training voyage might plausibly be interpreted as an echo of those historic practices.

Institutionality, Communality, Power and Ideology

The bounded nature of the social setting provided by a ship or boat at sea can be interpreted in two main ways. It can be seen as a community in the 'warmly persuasive' sense (Williams 1961), or alternatively as an institution in the colder and more austere sense that the term usually implies. To understand these categories as dichotomous may

however be unhelpful. To see community and institution as points on a continuum is also tempting but does ignore some important problems. It is more useful to think of 'Community' and 'Institution' as ideal types, as theoretical, heuristic, constructs that provide analytical lenses through which to examine specific contexts.

The concept and concern underlying this analysis is the nature and use of power. A continuum would allow the extension beyond institution to include not just the prisons that might be understood as in Foucault's (1991) term austere institutions, but also settings such as concentration camps. The critical difference is in the extent to which power is constrained, whether simply by a framework of rules or by a recognition of inmates as human beings with rights. The unconstrained power exercised where guards or gaolers have the power of life or death over inmates represents a critical break conceptually, requiring recognition that this is not a continuous spectrum but a series of related but distinctly differentiated models.

The same kind of critical break between 'Community' and 'Institution' can be established, somewhat less dramatically, through consideration of macro-micro relations. Community is understood increasingly as an intermediate social space where individual agency and social structure come into dialectical contact (Martin 2000b) and where change is possible. Institution in an equivalent formulation may have some of the features of community, and may readily be understood as a site for individuals and social structure to come into contact. What institutionality means however is that change is much less likely. The institution effectively constrains human agency, not just for the inmate, patient or trainee, but equally for the institutional staff who exercise authority in the name of the institution.

This is not however a simple left/right dichotomy in relation to the political dimension of ideology. 'Community' is a strongly contested concept and as Forcey (1996) points out, has been colonised by the political right in America. Crow and Allan (1994) provide a review of the community studies literature and research, offering an explanation of the

dynamics of community understood less as location or thing, and more as an active creation of its members. They identify four key points:

- communities should be understood as ‘active creations’ which develop within particular historical, material and policy contexts
- it is at this intermediate level of social reality that people collectively live out the consequences of socio-economic, political and cultural change;
- the impact of such change is systematically differentiated - particularly in terms of class, gender and ‘race’
- it is precisely because communities are ‘happenings’ rather than ‘things’ that we should expect them to be messy, ambivalent and contradictory spaces.

	Communal	Institutional
Boundaries	Negotiable, established and maintained by consent	Fixed, established and maintained by the exercise of rules, routines and rituals.
Authority	Derived from expertise, exercised by consent	Derived from position, exercised through hierarchy
Strategic decision making	Opportunities for degrees of involvement; exchanges of information about constraints and opportunities	Taken at high levels within the hierarchy. Communicated downwards with little or no opportunity for debate.
Dissent	Expressed in public, communicated directly, resolved by negotiation and flexible position-taking. Potential for dissenters to ‘walk away’ or resign their membership.	Expressed in private, communicated hierarchically, resolved by imposition of institutional imperative or (extreme case) by rejection or punishment/restraint of dissenting members.

Table 5: The Communal and the Institutional - an analytical typology.

Analytically these ideal types therefore allow the use of institutionality or communality as a conceptual tool to distinguish a critical difference in approach. It is not the claim that all sail training practice fits neatly into one or other of these conceptual boxes, but that the ideal types allow a clear distinction to be drawn between practices which, in combination would typify one or the other. Thus the ways boundaries both external and internal, are established and maintained, the ways authority is exercised, decisions are

made or dissent is processed combine to typify communal or institutional modes of being.

In some important respects all of these categories, boundaries, authority, decision-making and dissent are expressions of power. It is the ways power is expressed and understood that more than anything else characterises the different ideological positions that can be understood as implicit in any human activity and that can be identified in the range of practices evident in sail training. The control of information is an important expression of power. Different beliefs about the nature of desirable relations between people are expressed by on the one hand an approach which is characterised by the announcement that 'we are going to Denmark'; on the other by an approach which offers a choice between an evening in Tobermory harbour and a passage to the Outer Hebrides.

Power, as the case examples above show, does not rest solely with the institutional structure of the vessel and the staff. Dissent or resistance is an expression of power on the part of trainees, and the institutional response to such challenges reveals the fundamental ideology on which the practices of the particular organisation, vessel or individual practitioners are founded. When this test is applied the data offers few real examples of an authentically 'communal' model of the management of dissent. In the story of J there was an extended communal discussion of options and consequences, with the *appearance* of it being possible for the dissenter to resign. The physical reality of the vessel, moored some hundreds of metres from shore, the relatively remote location and the elemental imperatives together meant that this possibility was illusory or hypothetical. The *James Cook* example is the only case in the data of such a dissenter's right to resign being exercised. It is unusual for this to happen and in this case it required external assistance. It is therefore safe to claim that notwithstanding differences of approach in many other respects, the management of dissent in any sail training vessel lends support to the view that all sail training vessels can be understood as total institutions. It is the ways that power is understood and expressed that enables the differentiation of 'institutional' and 'communal' climates, expressing as they do quite different views of the world and of the relationship between people.

A key task for sail training practitioners in the 21st century is to identify an ideological stance and to seek to express that stance through their practice. The beliefs we hold about our humanity and the kinds of relationships we desire must be considered as a starting point for exploration of educational practices in sail training or elsewhere. It is not sufficient to treat these matters as relatively unproblematic secondary concerns, only to be considered after the really important issues of safety and seamanship have been addressed. The closing chapter sets out some problems and possibilities for sail trainers, in the hope and expectation of a vigorous dialogue about the fundamental purpose of this work.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

The journey, in this case the voyage from the start of the project to this conclusion has been in turn arduous, illuminating, and only partially conclusive. In drawing to a close a number of threads and themes need to be drawn together. Firstly this chapter sets out to conclude the research itself, referring back to the research questions and summarising the findings. Secondly a future research agenda is outlined both in relation to sail training and to its various relations. This is not simply a traditionally formulaic element, but arises directly and imperatively from the under-researched character of the field, and from the dominant preoccupation of research in outdoor and adventure education with individualised, psychologically oriented approaches. Thirdly an agenda for practice is outlined, consistent with the aspiration expressed in chapter 2 to uncover issues and meanings as part of a process of dialogue. To claim to be an initiator of debate about the nature and meaning of sail training might be overstating the case, but it is legitimate to claim to be contributing something new to the debates that already exist. To establish an outline of implications or lessons for practice and for policy and funders has been an underlying ambition throughout the project.

The Findings

There are two tests that might be applied to a project of this general kind. The first test is to examine the extent to which it achieves what it set out to. The second is whether what it set out to achieve was significant and worth the effort. In both respects this project stands up to critical scrutiny. The first research question asked ‘What influences have shaped contemporary sail training?’ and in response I have considered some of the most important factors in the development of sail training, arguing that the three elements of maritime adventure, outdoor education, and the emergent practices of youth work all influenced the development of the UK sail training movement. The central finding in this respect is that sail training is a cultural product that expresses moral and political values and beliefs

The second and third research questions required consideration of the purposes expressed by sail training organisations and their stakeholders, and of the range of differences and commonalities of approach. The important findings in this respect are that what unites sail training as a movement is a range of common expressions of purpose, in relation to the general benefits of participation and the particular benefits for specific categories of participant. In this respect similarities outweigh differences, most claims for benefit of sail training referring to the importance of the communal living element, to working as part of a group or team, and to the element of challenge and perceptions of risk.

It is the means by which these claimed benefits are achieved that distinguishes different kind of practice, and the model of *traditions* is used to explain that difference, both in terms of the differences of approach in terms of the size and type of vessels used, and their different characteristic approaches to language, culture and decision making. The two main traditions are interpreted as expressing respectively *conservative-authoritarian* and *liberal-pluralist* ideologies.

The fourth and fifth research questions addressed, respectively, participants' expectations and their understandings of the experience of participation. Expectations were diverse and often not clearly articulated other than by reference to previous participants' positive accounts. A distinction was evident between what are understood as contextual factors, related to the conditions under which experience takes place and the qualities of particular experiences in themselves. What was salient in respect of initial experience were trainees' perceptions of the problems of living in a small space, and of the peculiarities of a mobile environment. The focus of early impressions was often on individuality, expressed through attention to tasks such as steering. In the later stages of voyages trainees talked more about the rewards of cooperation with others in respect of tasks such as sail handling, or domestic work such as food preparation. This area of enquiry proved to raise many new questions, most significantly issues arising in respect of age distribution and gender, and the relationship of participation to other experiences in trainees' lives.

In relation to the final research question, whether the benefits claimed or assumed for particular young people are demonstrable, it might reasonably be said that sail training, in the popular phrase 'does exactly what it says on the tin'. There is good evidence of a close match between the claims made about, for example, learning to live in a confined space with others, or learning to work effectively in a group on a common task, and the experiences of participants. Evidence from trainees' accounts and from observation consistently shows that over the period of a few days, most trainees will learn to cooperate with staff and with their peers in a range of ways. The claims in these respects appear to be quite justified.

The overall finding in respect of the nature and significance of sail training can be summarised as having three features. Firstly there is the strong conclusion that sail training expresses values in respect of power relations between people, through the approaches to the social organisation of shipboard life and decision making. Alongside this is the finding that it is the institutional enclosure provided uniquely by a vessel at sea which gives sail training its particular power as an experience. The necessity of a workable social contract sets the conditions for young trainees taking responsibility for themselves and their relationships in ways that they have often not previously been able or required to. The most important finding however concerns the significance, or more accurately the meanings of sail training.

By taking young people to sea we create conditions where a range of different kinds of cooperation and mutuality are necessary, and where the possibility of resignation or withdrawal is limited by the physical boundary. Thus is created a kind of social world in miniature, with a system of norms and structures of power and authority. The kinds of structures and systems that are chosen or created, whether consciously and deliberately or by default, are not in any fundamental way different from the patterns that can be understood in the wider world. Sail training offers both a mirror to the society that sponsors it, and a classroom or laboratory for participants. As a mirror it reflects one version or another of the world around it. The examples of Chris Ellis's insistence on first names, in a spirit of mid 20th century egalitarianism, or of the STA's moves toward

acknowledgement that strict naval discipline was unsustainable where young people's participation was genuinely voluntary demonstrate this reflecting character. Most significantly perhaps the profound changes in the way gender is treated in sail training illustrates its reflecting of social change.

As a classroom or laboratory in respect of social and relational issues it has considerable power but, as yet, a relatively limited repertoire. The opportunities for participants to learn about relationships, about power and authority are, in most practice, limited to fairly conventional notions of collaboration, teamwork and leadership. The main traditions can be understood as divergent in this respect, with the balance of authority shifted to some degree, in the Yachting tradition, in trainees' favour. This shift is not however a real transfer of power, but a move towards a kind of consultative democracy. If the very traditional structures and practices of authority evident in the Tall Ship tradition can be understood as analogous to a kind of (reasonably benevolent) autocracy, then a consultative approach would be more like a constitutional monarchy; the divine right of the captain to command having been replaced by the maintenance of authority through consent. The point of this metaphor is to consider whether it is possible for sail trainers to develop practice that models a more participative democracy.

In terms of the contemporary discourse of education and of sociological analysis sail training might be understood as a laboratory for the experimental creation of new social capital. Putnam's analysis (2000) suggests that team sports are a good setting in which to build new social capital, and there seems good reason to believe that participants in sail training experience such a process through the recognition of the kind of mutuality that Bourdieu (1997) describes. This is not simply to argue that sail training is automatically liberating, since one of its important lessons may be that the 'first lesson in freedom is to begin to understand the reality of un-freedom' (Martin 2000a, 210)

The question for consideration is whether instead of using the sail training voyage as a classroom through which to school participants into an acceptance of existing norms and structures, it can be used as a laboratory or workshop in which new possibilities are

explored. The potential for such an approach is clearly present, in that the very real consequences of individual actions give decisions, whoever makes them, an authentic quality that is absent in many other settings. Some individual practitioners have made efforts to move in such a direction, by progressively passing more and more decision making to trainees over the duration of a voyage. The real challenge is to find ways not just to pass over decision making authority but to give real power and responsibility, and simultaneously to successfully manage the risks that would be involved.

The Future Research Agenda

This study may usefully be seen as providing a foundation for a range of more detailed and specific research. Research in sail training is now being undertaken, and should focus firstly on refining understanding of the range of different approaches pursued. The conceptualisation of traditions in sail training might be used as the basis for a more refined, more discriminating theoretical framework. The importance of this dimension cannot be overstated. It cannot be sufficient to treat the purpose or purposes of sail training as unproblematic, to assume that 'teamwork' or 'communal living' are necessary and good in and of themselves. Simply to follow the dominant stream of research and make more measurements of changes in participants' self esteem or locus of control will add little to genuine understanding of the field and its practices.

Secondly, more attention should be given to uncovering the reality of participants' experience, and distinguishing the different characteristics of the experiences of particular participants. This study has only begun to uncover these questions and there are enormous dark areas onto which to throw light. Some of the problems that might be considered include age differences and the ways in which younger and older trainees experience participation. Some of the evidence from this study is suggestive of the significance of age distribution among trainees as important, and of there being in particular a lower limit below which the experience of participation may be less satisfactory both from the participant's perspective and in respect of learning or benefits.

Thirdly and partly as a particular case of differences among participants is the matter of gender. The ways differences in gender roles, experiences and meanings are understood have changed profoundly in the late 20th century. Sail training has mirrored these changes, and offers a potentially fruitful setting for research with a gender focus. Women and girls as seafarers offer both a potentially rich source of understandings and insights both in relation to their experiences and participation as seafarers, and in a wider context. Sail training and gender might be seen, to extend the previous metaphor, as a mirror in which feminist researchers could reflect on questions not simply about the setting itself but about the wider questions of gender and power.

The Future of Sail Training

At this particular juncture there are important questions in relation to the possible futures of sail training. There is little doubt that these practices are going to be sustained into the future; the commitment of energy and resources into the work of sail training shows no sign of declining. It is clear that not only practitioners and advocates are convinced of there being value for young people in participating, but that those in other fields of work concerned with young people, and in policy making and resource controlling positions are sympathetic. Sail training has a broadly favourable aura surrounding it and it is entirely reasonable to suppose that something like the existing level of activity will continue for the foreseeable future.

The questions that need to be confronted as matters of some urgency are of several kinds. Firstly there are technical questions about what kinds and sizes of vessels should be used, and how they should be equipped, particularly in respect of information and communications technologies. The issue of sizes and kinds of vessels is bound up with purpose and I will return to that shortly. How modern vessels should be equipped is an increasingly important question, and one that is occupying a lot of professional attention. Electronic technologies are making rapid inroads into maritime life, and sophisticated technologies for navigation, weather forecasting and communications are becoming the norm. The idea of the ship as a little world isolated from those ashore and reliant on its

own resources is perhaps a 20th century concept, now rendered obsolete by the use of highly accurate and reliable satellite navigation and communications. A storm in the Minch is still a storm but an important feature of the experience, as we can understand it now, is in the process of changing quite profoundly. Sail training practitioners need to consider these innovations not only as technical aids which can make their professional lives easier and safer, but as factors which will have effects on the social and process dimensions of participants' experience.

The choices made regarding the types and sizes of vessels to be used have already been shown to both reflect and frame the kinds of relationships that exist aboard. If a new, more liberatory ideology of sail training is aspired to, then the kinds of vessels that are used may well be crucially important. The liberation vs. domestication (Freire 1972) argument in respect of education is well rehearsed. The question in relation to sail training is whether it is possible to conceive and create a radical methodology for sail trainers, and what kinds of vessels and voyage could support such purposes. A vision for the future might make some of the structures and roles for adult participation that exist at present partly redundant. Small, simple robust vessels that could be managed easily by trainees with quite limited experience could provide a setting where responsibility and power were authentically in the collective hands of a group of teenagers. The pattern of progression might then be from participation in an initial voyage aboard a larger vessel, acquiring basic skills and knowledge, to more intensive training in smaller vessels leading to autonomous voyages. There are many issues and problems both practical and philosophical to be considered in such a scheme. It might be undertaken as a kind of action research into new modes of participation. It may be that it remains a kind of thought experiment, useful for what it reveals about the potential of sail training. The fact of that potential can be in no doubt. These traditions and practices retain their power, connecting young participants as they can not only to a variety of histories but to the contemporary world and to consideration of the future.

References

- Alvesson, M. and Sköldbberg, K.** 2000 *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications.
- Armsden, S. R.** 1995 *The effect of a 5 day residential outdoor educational experience on the self- efficacy of selected Australian high school students.*, Brisbane, Queensland University of Technology
- Bailey, B. E.** 1978 Wilderness Therapeutic Camping: An Alternative Treatment Approach for the Juvenile Offender. *Annual Meeting of the Texas Psychological Association*, Dallas, Texas.
- Bailey, V.** 1987 *Delinquency and Citizenship: Reclaiming the Young Offender, 1914 - 1948*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ball, S. J.** 1993 'Self-Doubt and Soft Data: Social and Technical Trajectories in Ethnographic Fieldwork', in M. Hammersley (ed) *Educational Research: Current Issues*, London, Paul Chapman.
- Bandoroff, S. and Scherer, D. G.** 1994 'Wilderness family therapy: an innovative treatment approach for problem youth', *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 3 (2), 175-192.
- Bar-On, D.** 1991 'Trying to Understand what one is afraid to learn about', in D. A. Schon (ed) *The Reflective Turn; cases studies in and on educational practice*, New York, Teachers College Press, Columbia University.
- Barrett, J.** 1993 'Survey of Outdoor Activity Provision for Young Offenders and Young People at Risk', *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 10 (4), 24-27.

- Barrett, J. and Greenaway, R.** 1995 *Why Adventure? The role and value of outdoor adventure in young people's personal and social development*, Ravenglass, Cumbria: Foundation for Outdoor Adventure.
- Benson, D. and Hughes, J. A.** 1983 *The Perspective of Ethnomethodology*, London: Longman.
- Birkett, D.** 2001 'Women Who Make It.', *The Guardian* 13 February 2001.
- Boss, P.** 1967 *Social Policy and the Young Delinquent*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bottomley, K. and James, A.** 1994 The Humberside Probation Service Sail Training Project: Final Evaluation Report for the Rank Foundation, Hull, The Centre for Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Hull.
- Bourdieu, P.** 1973 'The Berber House', in M. Douglas (ed) *Rules and Meanings*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.
- 1997 'The Forms of Capital', in A. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown and A. S. Wells (eds) *Education: Culture, Economy and Society*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Bourn, D.** 1989 'Ideologically sound can be fun: Thoughts on the Woodcraft Folk', *Youth & Policy* (28), 17-24.
- Boyd, D., Keegan and Walker** 1985 *Reflection: Turning Experience into Learning*: Kogan Page.
- Boyes, M.** 2001 ISTA International Sail Training Research Project *ISTA Annual International Conference*, Alicante, Spain.
- Brannigan, J. K.** 1998 Personal Communication.

Brewer, J. D. 1994 'The Ethnographic Critique of Ethnography: Sectarianism in the RUC', *Sociology* 28, 231-244.

— 2000 *Ethnography*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Brown, W. K. and Simpson, B. F. J. 1976 'Confrontation of Self Through Outdoor Challenge: Pennsylvania's Outdoor Experience for Juvenile Offenders', *Behavioral Disorders* 2 (1), 41-8.

Bryman, A. 1984 'The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: a question of method or epistemology?', *British Journal of Sociology* XXXV (1), 75-92.

— 1988 *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*: Unwin Hyman.

Butters, S. and Newell, S. 1978 Realities of Training - a review of the training of adults who volunteer to work with young people in the youth and community service, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Bynner, J., Chisholm, L. and Furlong, A. 1997 *Youth, Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context*: Ashgate Publishing.

Carr, W. and Kemmis, S. 1986 *Becoming critical: education, knowledge and action research.*, London: Falmer Press.

Cohen, L., Mannion, L. and Morrison, K. 2000 *Research Methods in Education (5th Edition)*, London: Routledge / Falmer.

Cohen, S. 1972 *Folk devils and moral panics : the creation of the Mods and Rockers*, London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Cole, E., Erdman, E. and Rothblum, E. 1994 *Wilderness therapy for women: The power of adventure*;; New York: Harrington Park Press, Inc.

- Coles, B.** 1995 *Youth and Social Policy: Youth citizenship and young careers*, London: UCL Press Ltd.
- Cook, L.** 2001 'Differential Social and Political Influences on Girls and Boys Through Education Out of Doors in the United Kingdom', *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Leadership* 1 (2), 43-51.
- Creswell, J. W.** 1994 *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, London: Sage Publications.
- Crow, G. and Allan, G.** 1994 *Community Life*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Dana, R. H.** 1996 *Two Years Before The Mast (Revised Edition)*, Ware: Wordsworth Editions.
- Davidson, L.** 2001 'Qualitative Research and Making Meaning from Adventure: A Case Study of Boys' Experiences of Outdoor Education at School', *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Leadership* 1 (2), 11-20.
- Davies, B.** 1986 *Threatening Youth; Towards a National Youth Policy*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- 1999 *From Thatcherism to New Labour: A History of the Youth Service in England Vol 2: 1979-1999*, Leicester: National Youth Agency.
- Davis-Berman, J. and Berman, D. S.** 1994 *Wilderness Therapy: Foundations, Theory and Research*, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Dee, M.** 1995 Young People and the Struggle for Public Space in Australia *Youth 2000 Conference*, University of Teesside.
- Deegan, M. J.** 2001 'The Chicago School of Ethnography', in P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography*, London, Sage Publications.

- Delamont, S.** 1992 *Fieldwork in Educational Settings: Methods Pitfalls and Perspectives*, London: Falmer Press.
- Denscombe, M.** 1998 *The Good Research Guide*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Denzin, N.** 1991 'Back to Harold and Agnes', *Sociological Theory* 9 (2), 280-285.
- Dewey, J.** 1963 *Experience and Education*, New York: Collier Books.
- Dey, I.** 1993 *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*, London: Routledge.
- 1999 *Grounding Grounded Theory: Guidelines for Qualitative Enquiry*, London: Academic Press.
- Dicker, R. and Gilbert, J.** 1988 'The role of the telephone in Educational Research', *British Educational Research Journal* 14 (No1).
- DoT Surveyor General's Organisation** 1993 *Code of practice for the construction, machinery, equipment, stability, operation and examination of sailing vessels, of up to 24 metres load line length, in commercial use and which do not carry cargo or more than 12 passengers*, London: HMSO.
- Downie, A.** 1997 *Community Education: Active Citizenship Through Values Education in Youth Work*, Edinburgh: Scottish Community Education Council.
- Fisher, B.** 2001 'Weather eye makes Ellen simply the best', *The Guardian* Monday February 12, 2001.
- Forcey, C. B.** 1996 From the Quest for Community to the Quest for Authority: Robert A. Nisbet and the Traditionalist Response to the Sixties *Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting*.

- Foucault, M.** 1991 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, London: Penguin Books.
- France, A.** 1996 'Youth and Citizenship in the 1990s', *Youth & Policy* (53), 28 - 42.
- 1998 '"Why Should We Care?": Young People, Citizenship and Questions of Social Responsibility', *The Journal of Youth Studies* 1 (1), 97-111.
- Freire, P.** 1972 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Frey, J. H.** 1989 *Survey Research By Telephone*: Sage Publications.
- Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F.** 1997 *Young People and Social Change: individualisation and risk in late modernity*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gair, N. P.** 1997 *Outdoor Education: Theory And Practice*, London: Cassel.
- Gardiner, J. and Wenborn, N.** 1995 *The History Today Companion to British History*, London: Collins & Brown Ltd.
- Garfinkel, H.** 1967 *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, New Jersey: Prentice - Hall.
- Gass, M. and Priest, S.** 1993 'Using metaphors and isomorphs to transfer learning in adventure education.', *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 10 (4), 18-23.
- George, V. and Wilding, P.** 1993 *Welfare and Ideology*, Harlow: Prentice - Hall.
- Gerstenberger, H.** 1996 'Men Apart: The Concept of "Total Institution" and the Analysis of Seafaring', *International Journal of Maritime History* 8, 173-182.
- Giddens, A.** 1984 *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Gitlin, A., Siegel, M. and Boru, K.** 1993 'The Politics of Method: From Leftist Ethnography to Educative Research', in M. Hammersley (ed) *Educational research: Current Issues*, London, Paul Chapman.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L.** 1967 *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Chicago: Aldine.
- Goffman** 1968 *Asylums*, London: Penguin Books.
- Gordon, S., Harcourt-Smith, K., Hay, K. and Priest, S.** 1996 'Case Study of Blue Watch on STS Leeuwin', *The Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 13 (1), 4-7.
- Gorman, E.** 2001 'Blair hails British sailor's courage', *The Times* 10th February 2001.
- Greenwood, P. W. and Turner, S.** 1987 *The VisionQuest Program: An Evaluation*, Santa Monica, Calif, Rand Corporation.
- Griffin, C.** 1997 'Troubled Teens: Managing disorders of transition and consumption', *Feminist Review* (55), 4-21.
- Griffiths, M.** 1998 *Educational Research for Social Justice: Getting Off the Fence*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Grimble, I.** 2000 *The Sea Wolf: The Life of Admiral Cochrane*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited.
- Grocott, A. C.** 1999 *Sailing and self-esteem: The effect of a ten day developmental voyage at sea on the multidimensional self-concept* University of Otago
- Hakim, C.** 1987 *Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research*, London: Routledge.

Hamilton, J. 1988 *Sail Training: The message of the tall ships*, Wellingborough: Patrick Stephens Ltd.

Hammersley, M. 1992 *What's Wrong With Ethnography?*, London: Routledge.

Hendry, L., Craik, I., Love, J. G. and Mack, J. 1991 *Measuring the Benefits of Youth Work (A Report to the Scottish Office Education Department)*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University.

HMI 1991 *Youth work in Scotland*, Edinburgh, HMSO.

HMSO 1960 *The Youth Service in England and Wales*.

Humberstone, B. 1987 *Organisational factors, teacher approach and pupil commitment in outdoor activities: a case study of schooling and gender in outdoor education*, Ph.D Thesis, Southampton

— 1990 'Gender, change and adventure education', *Gender & Education* 2 (2), 199-215.

— 1993 'Equality, Physical Education and Outdoor Education: Ideologised Struggles and Transformative Structures', in J. Evans (ed) *Equality, Education and Physical Education*, London, Falmer Press.

— 1996 'Other Voices; Many Meanings? Technique and Philosophy for Outdoor Adventure - The Case for Women', *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 13 (2), 47-51.

— 2000 'The "Outdoor Industry" as Social and Educational Phenomena', *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Leadership* 1 (1), 21-35.

Humberstone, B. and Pedersen, K. 2001 'Gender, class and outdoor traditions in the UK and Norway', *Sport, Education & Society* 6 (1), 23-33.

- Jeffs, T.** 1995 'Children's Educational Rights in a New ERA?', in B. Franklin (ed) *The Handbook of Children's Rights: Comparative Policy and Practice*, London, Routledge.
- Jeffs, T. and Smith, M.** 1988 'Youth Work, Welfare and the State', in T. Jeffs and M. Smith (eds) *Welfare and Youth Work Practice*, London, Macmillan.
- 1994 'Young people, youth work and a new authoritarianism', *Youth & Policy* (No46), 17-32.
- Jones, G. and Wallace, C.** 1992 *Youth, Family and Citizenship*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Karabinas, A., Monaghan, B. and Sheptycki, J. W. E.** 1996 'An Evaluation of the Craigmillar Youth Challenge', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 35 (2), 113-130.
- Kemp, P.** 1988 *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kimball, R. O.** 1980 *Wilderness/Adventure Programs for Juvenile Offenders*, Chicago, Chicago University. School of Social Service Administration.
- King, D.** 2001 Sail Training Research *ISTA Annual International Conference*, Alicante, Spain.
- Lewis, B. R.** 2000 *Hitler Youth: The Hitlerjugend in War and Peace 1933-1945*, Staplehurst: Spellmount Ltd.
- Loynes, C.** 1990 'Development Training in The United Kingdom', in J. Miles and S. Priest (eds) *Adventure Education*, State College, PA, Venture Publishing, Inc.
- Mand, C. L. and Green, L.** 1973 'An Outdoor Community for Troubled Adolescents', *Journal of School Health* 43 (1), 8-17.

Martin, I. 2000a 'Re-theorising 'community': towards a dialectical understanding of inclusion', in A. Jackson and D. Jones (eds) *Researching 'Inclusion'*, Nottingham, University of Nottingham.

— 2000b Reconstituting the Agora: Towards an Alternative Politics of Lifelong Learning, in T. Sork, V. Chapman and R. St Clair (eds) *41st Adult Education Research Conference, Vancouver*, University of British Columbia.

Massey, P. and Rose, S. 1992 'Adventurous outdoor activities: a review and a description of a new service delivery package for clients with learning difficulties who have behaviours which challenge services or society', *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 17 (12), 1415-21.

Maynard, D. W. 1991 'Goffman, Garfinkel and Games', *Sociological Theory* 9 (2), 277-179.

McCulloch, K. 1995 *How Did It Go? - A Study of Evaluation in Youth Work*, MEd Dissertation, Moray House Institute, Heriot-Watt University

— 1997 'Participatory Evaluation in Distance Learning', *Open Learning* 12 (1), 24-30.

— 2000 'Young Citizens: Youth Work, Civic Participation and the Renewal of Democracy', *Youth and Policy* (68), 34-45.

McCulloch, K. and Tett, L. 1996 'Performance Indicators as Quality Assurance: The Scottish Community Education PI Scheme', *Quality Assurance in Education* 13 (4), 17-26.

Mead, G. H. 1934 *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miles, M. J. and Huberman, A. M. 1994 *Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: Sage Publications.

Miller, C. 1994 'In depth Interviewing by telephone', *Evaluation & Research in Education* 9 (1).

Miner, J. L. 1990 'The Creation of Outward Bound', in J. C. Miles and S. Priest (eds) *Adventure Education*, State College, PA, Venture Publishing, Inc.

Mortlock, C. 1984 *The Adventure Alternative*, Cumbria: Cicerone Press.

Munn, P., Lloyd, G. and Cullen, M. A. 2000 *Alternatives to Exclusion from School*, London: Paul Chapman.

National Youth Agency 1999 Occupational Standards for Youth Work, Leicester, National Youth Agency.

Neufeld, R. W. 1997 'Locus of Control, Sensation Seeking, and Mathematical Models of Stress and Decisional Control: Comment on De Brabander and Hellemans', *Psychological Reports* 81 (3 Pt 2), 1289-90.

Newby, E. 1990 *The Last Grain Race*, London: Picador.

Nichols, G. 1996 'Developing a rationale for adventure-based interventions with young people at risk', *The Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 13 (1), 8-10.

Nicol, R. 2001 *Outdoor Education for Sustainable Living?: An investigation into the potential of Scottish local authority outdoor education centres to deliver programmes relating to sustainable living.*, PhD, University of Edinburgh

Nicol, R. and Higgins, P. 1998 'A Sense of Place: A Context for Environmental Outdoor Education', in P. Higgins and B. J. Humberstone (eds) *Celebrating Diversity: Learning by Sharing Cultural Differences*, Buckingham Chilterns University College, European Institute for Outdoor Adventure Education and Experiential Learning.

O'Brian, P. 1970 *Master and Commander*, London: Collins.

Ocean Youth Club 1985 Silver Jubilee Spunyarns *Special Edition of the OYC House Journal - A Concise History 1960-1985*, Gosport, The Ocean Youth Club.

Patel, A. and Perruzza, H. 1993 'Outdoor Training: a Vehicle to Support Total Quality Strategy', *Training for Quality* 1 (3), 21-28.

Patton, M. Q. 1990 *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*: Sage Publications.

Phillipson, D. 1996 *Band of Brothers: Boy Seamen in the Royal Navy 1800-1956*, Stroud, Gloucs: Sutton Publishing Ltd.

Platt, A. M. 1969 *The Child Savers: The Invention Of Delinquency*, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Pollner, M. and Emerson, R. M. 2001 'Ethnomethodology and Ethnography', in P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography*, London, Sage Publications.

Priest, S. 1996 'The Relationships Among Change, Programme Type and Facilitation Technique in Adventure Programming', *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 13 (2), 22-26.

Putnam, R. D. 2000 *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

Ransome, A. 1993 - original publication 1930 *Peter Duck*, London: Random House Children's Books.

Reason P (Ed) 1994 *Participation in Human Enquiry*: Sage Publications.

Richards, A. 1990 'Kurt Hahn', in J. Miles and S. Priest (eds) *Adventure Education*, State College, PA, Venture Publishing, Inc.

Rohnke, K. 1989 *Cows Tails & Cobras II : A Guide to Games, Initiatives, Rope Courses & Adventure Curriculum*: Project Adventure.

— 1990 'Ropes Courses: A Constructed Adventure Environment', in J. Miles and S. Priest (eds) *Adventure Education*, State College, PA, Venture Publishing, Inc.

Rosenthal, M. 1986 *The Character Factory; Baden Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout movement.*, London: Collins.

Rowe, D., Domanska, M. and Newton, J. 1998 Youth Work and the Promotion of Citizenship (unpublished), The Citizenship Foundation for The Gordon Cook Foundation.

Schon, D. A. 1987 *Educating the Reflective Practitioner : Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions*, London: Jossey - Bass.

Schutz, A. 1971 'Concept and Theory Formation in the Social Sciences', in K. Thompson and J. Tunstall (eds) *Sociological Perspectives*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

Schwimmer, E. 1990 'The anthropology of the interaction order', in S. H. Riggins (ed) *Beyond Goffman: Studies on Communication, Institution and Social Interaction*, Berlin New York, Mouton de Gruyer.

Scrope, K. 1987 'Letting Fresh Air into Education', *Adventure Education* 4 (3), 8-9.

Sea Cadets 2000 Publicity Leaflet, Gosport, The Sea Cadet Corps.

Seligman, A. 1939 *The Voyage of the Cap Pilar*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Silverman, D. 1985 *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology : Describing the Social World*, Aldershot: Gower.

— 2000 *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, London: Sage Publications.

Slocum, J. 1978 *Sailing Alone Around The World; and, Voyage of the Liberdade*, London: Granada Publishing.

Smith, D. and Paylor, I. 1997 'Reluctant Heroes: Youth workers and crime prevention', *Youth & Policy* (57), 17-28.

Smith, M. 1988 *Developing Youth Work*: Open University Press.

STA 2000 Publicity Leaflet, Portsmouth, The Sail Training Association.

Staeheli, L. and Thompson, A. 1997 'Citizenship, Community and Struggles for Public Space', *Professional Geographer* 49 (1), 28-38.

Stanley, L. 1990 'Doing Ethnography, Writing Ethnography: A Comment on Hammersley', *Sociology* 24, 617-628.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. 1983 *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research*: Routledge.

Strauss, A. L. and Corbin, J. 1998 *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, London: Sage Publications.

Sveen, R. 1993 'Travelling in the wilderness: experiential learning and youth-at-risk.', *Youth Studies Australia* 12 (3), 14-20.

Taylor, H. 1993 *The ideological evolution of an outdoor movement in Britain.*, Ph.D Thesis, Lancaster University

Teller, W. M. 1959 *The Search for Captain Slocum: A Biography*, London: Andre Deutsch.

- Travers, M.** 2001 *Qualitative Research Through Case Studies*, London: Sage Publications.
- Walker, H. J.** 1988 *The outdoor movement in England and Wales, 1900 - 1939*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Sussex
- Weber, M.** 1949 *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, New York: Free Press.
- Weiss, C. H.** 1986 'Toward the future of stakeholder approaches in evaluation', in E. House (ed) *New Directions in Educational Evaluation*, Falmer Press.
- Welch, J.** 2001 'Sexism left all at sea', *The Guardian* 12 February 2001.
- White, J.** 2001 'Interview: Ellen MacArthur', *The Guardian* 27 August 2001.
- Whyte, W. F.** 1981 *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1984 *Learning From The Field: A Guide From Experience*, London: Sage Publications.
- Williams, R.** 1961 *The Long Revolution*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Appendix 1: Voyage Maps

The sketch maps in this appendix are intended to supplement the outline data on the fieldwork voyages, provided in table form, in Chapter 2. The maps show an outline track for each voyage. (The voyage of 25-27 September 1998 on *Taikoo* is not included.)

Map 1 *Taikoo* 15th – 21st July 1996

Map 2 *Taikoo* 22nd – 28th July 1996

Map 3 *Lord Rank* 13th – 19th April 1998

Map 4 *Taikoo* 1st – 7th June 1998

Map 5 *James Cook* 14th – 19th July 1998

Map 6 *Taikoo* 21st – 25th September 1998

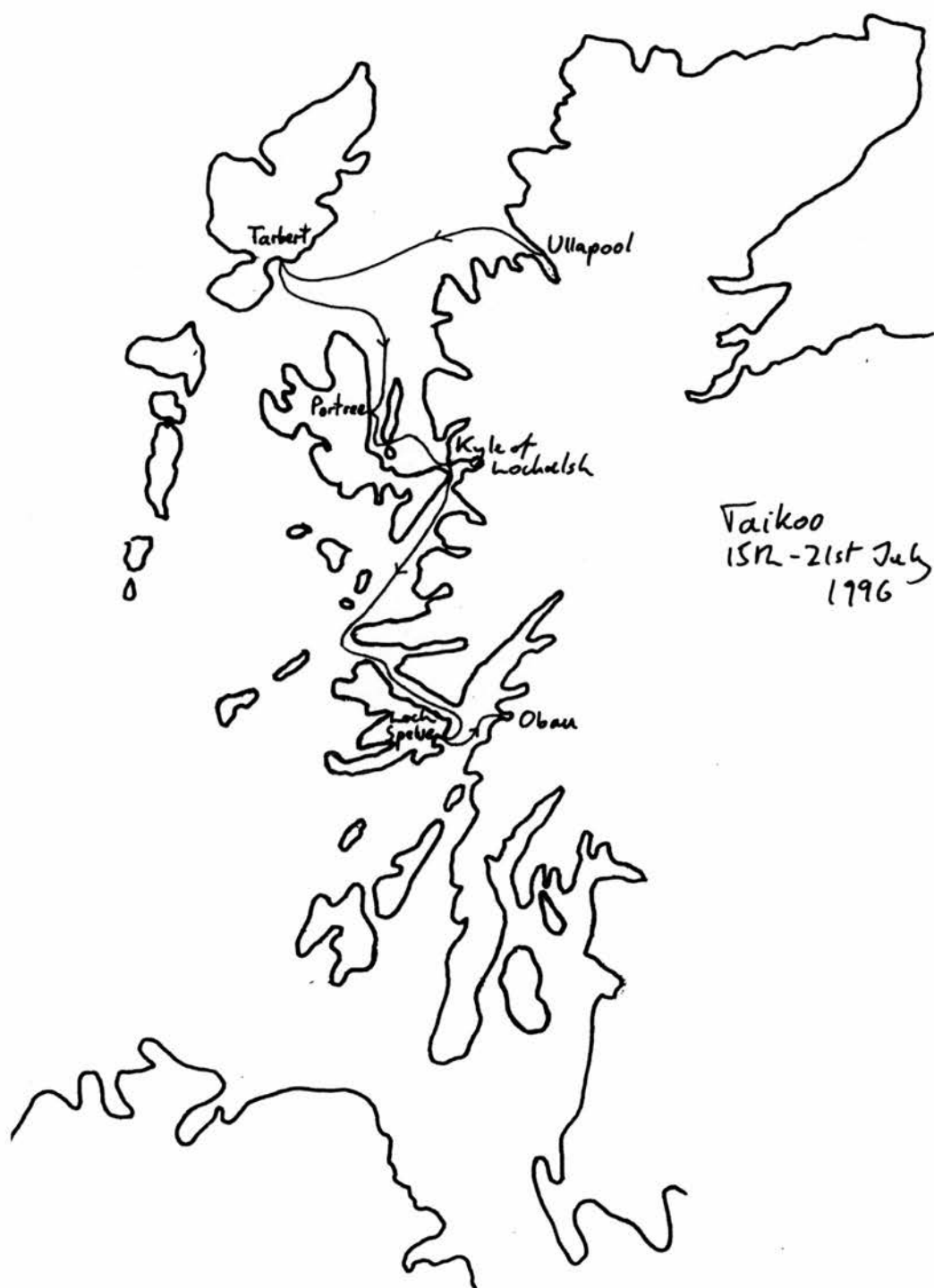
Map 7 *Alba Venturer* 11th - 20th August 1999

Map 8 *Sir Winston Churchill* 6th – 18th September 1999

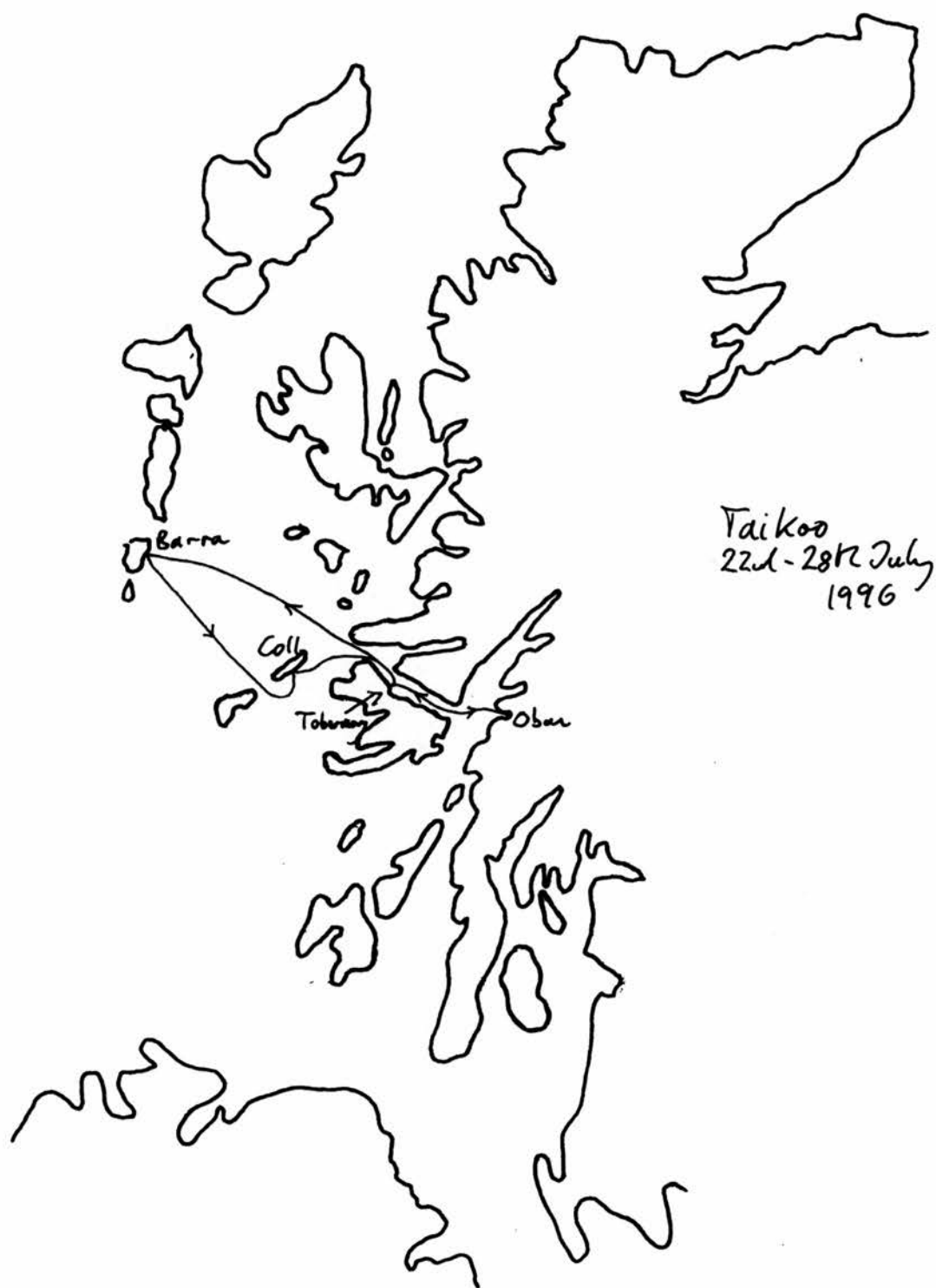
Map 9 *Spirit of Fairbridge* 31st May – 5th June 2000

Map 10 *Spirit of Fairbridge* 8th – 12th July 2000

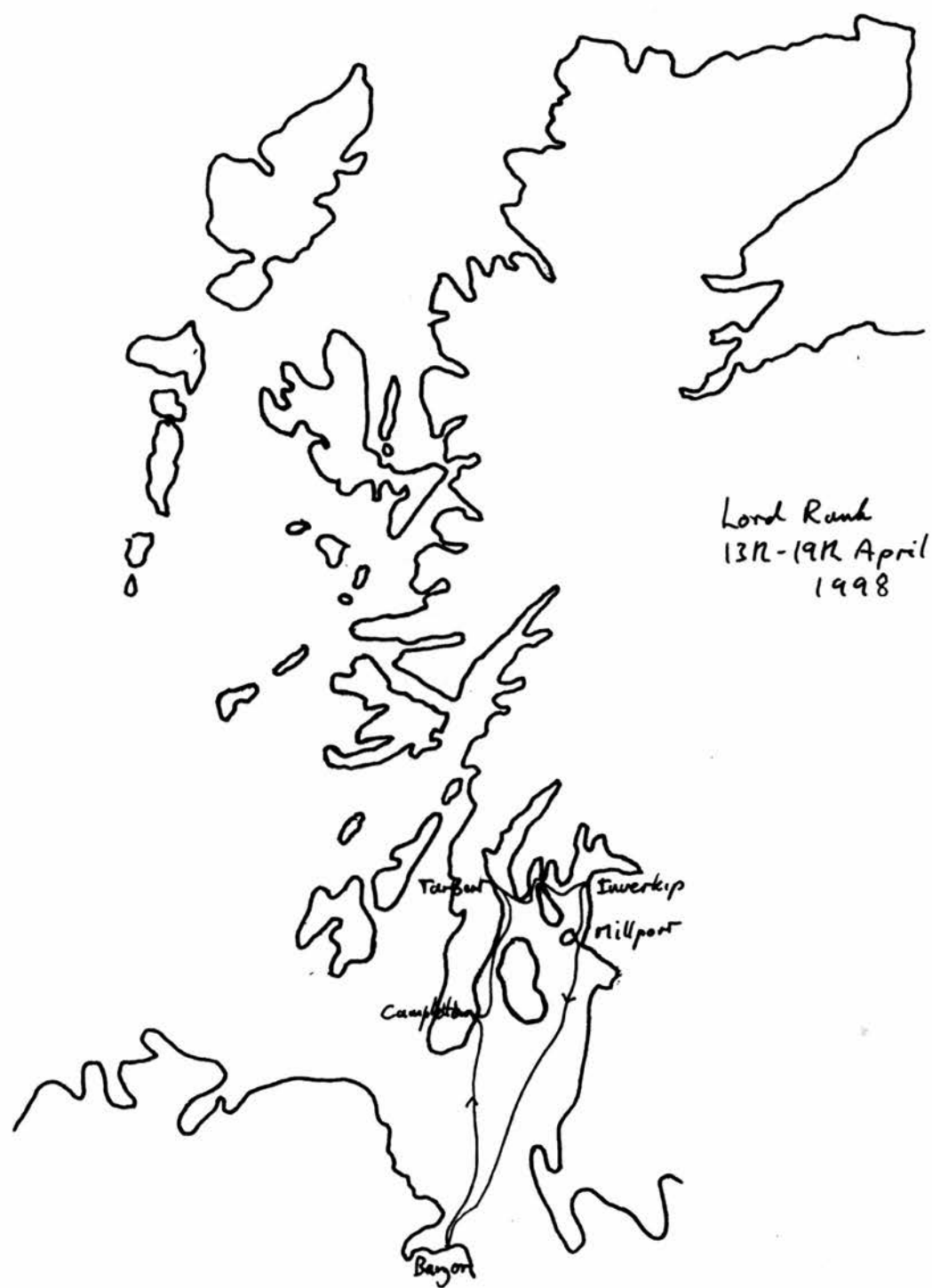
Map 11 *Alba Venturer* 21st – 25th August 2000



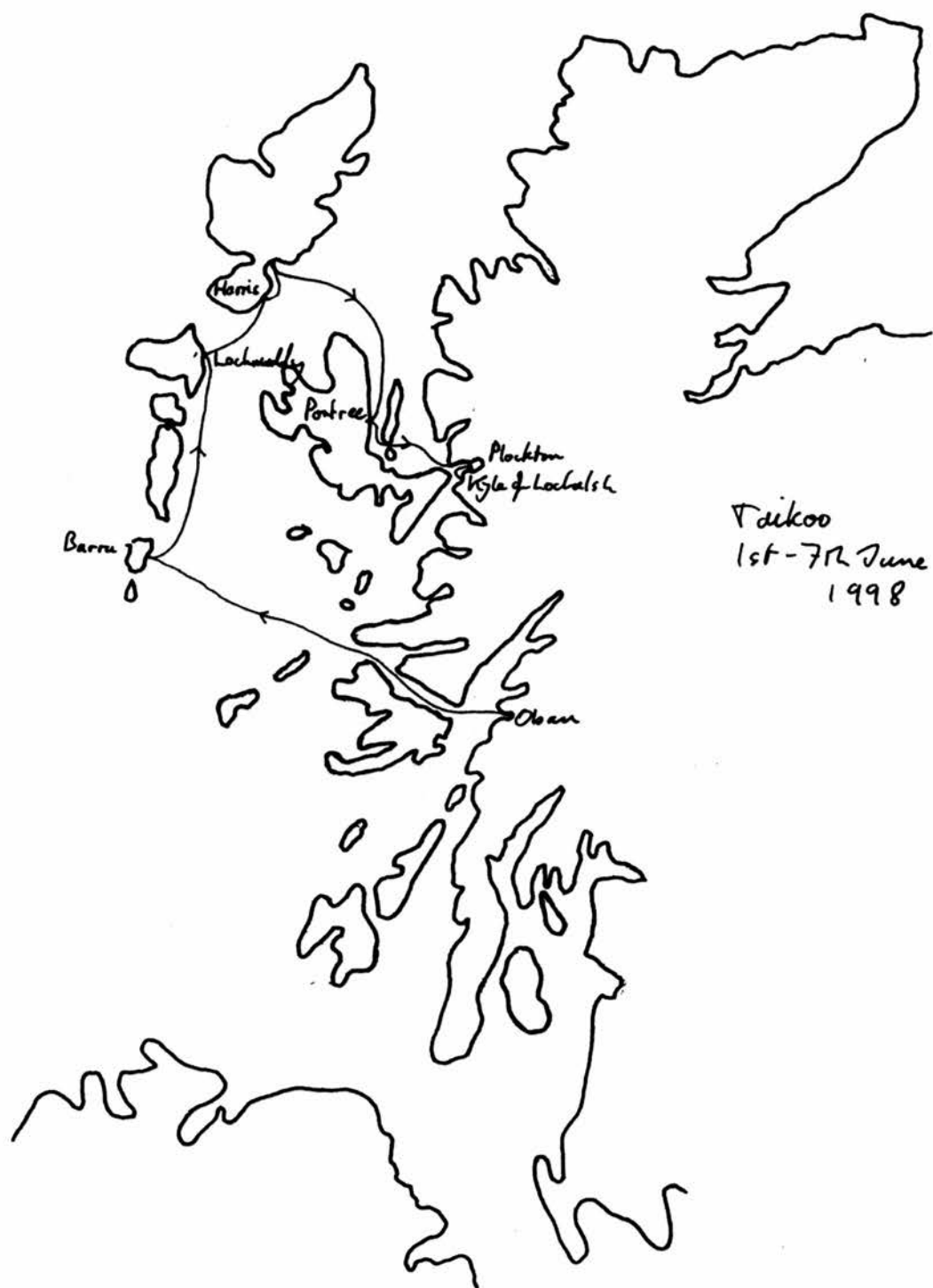
Map 1 Taikoo 15th – 21st July 1996



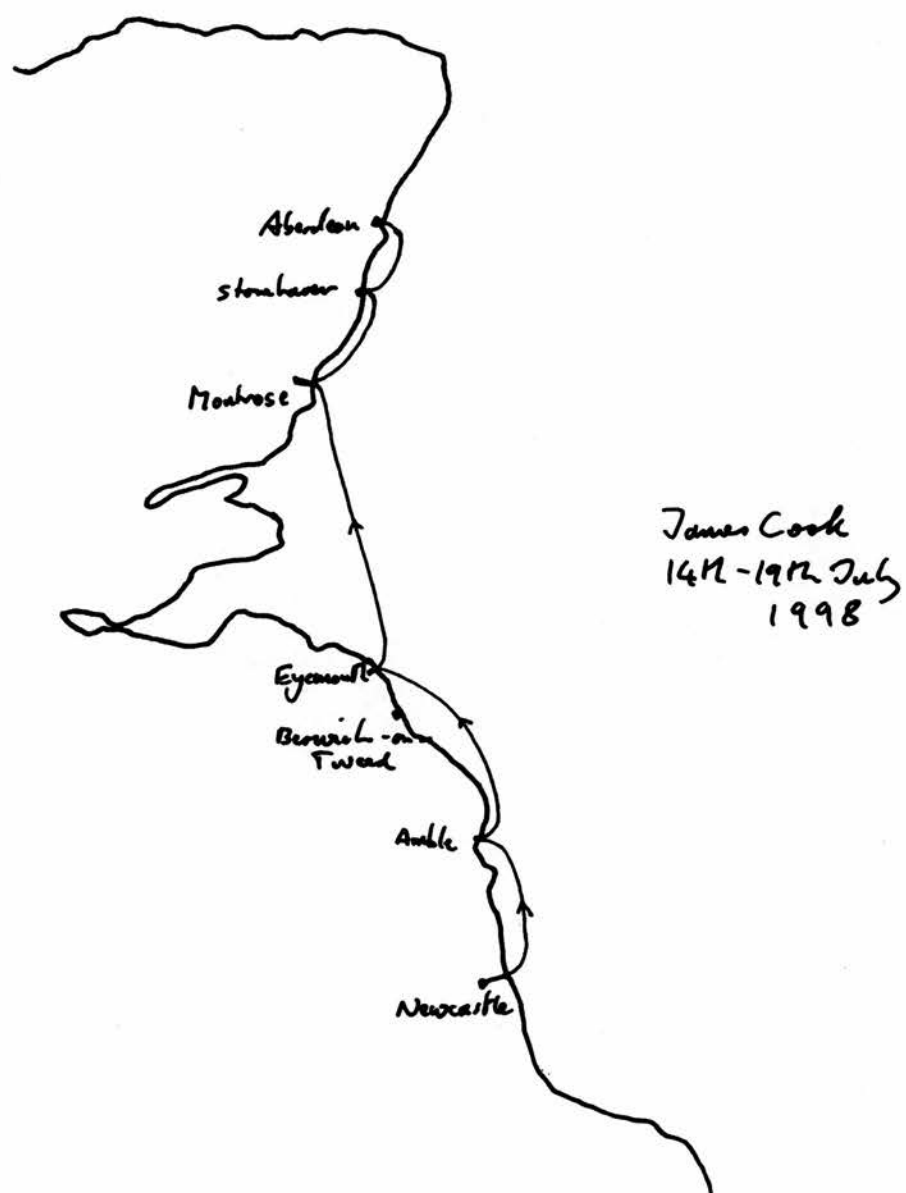
Map 2 Taikoo 22nd - 28th July 1996



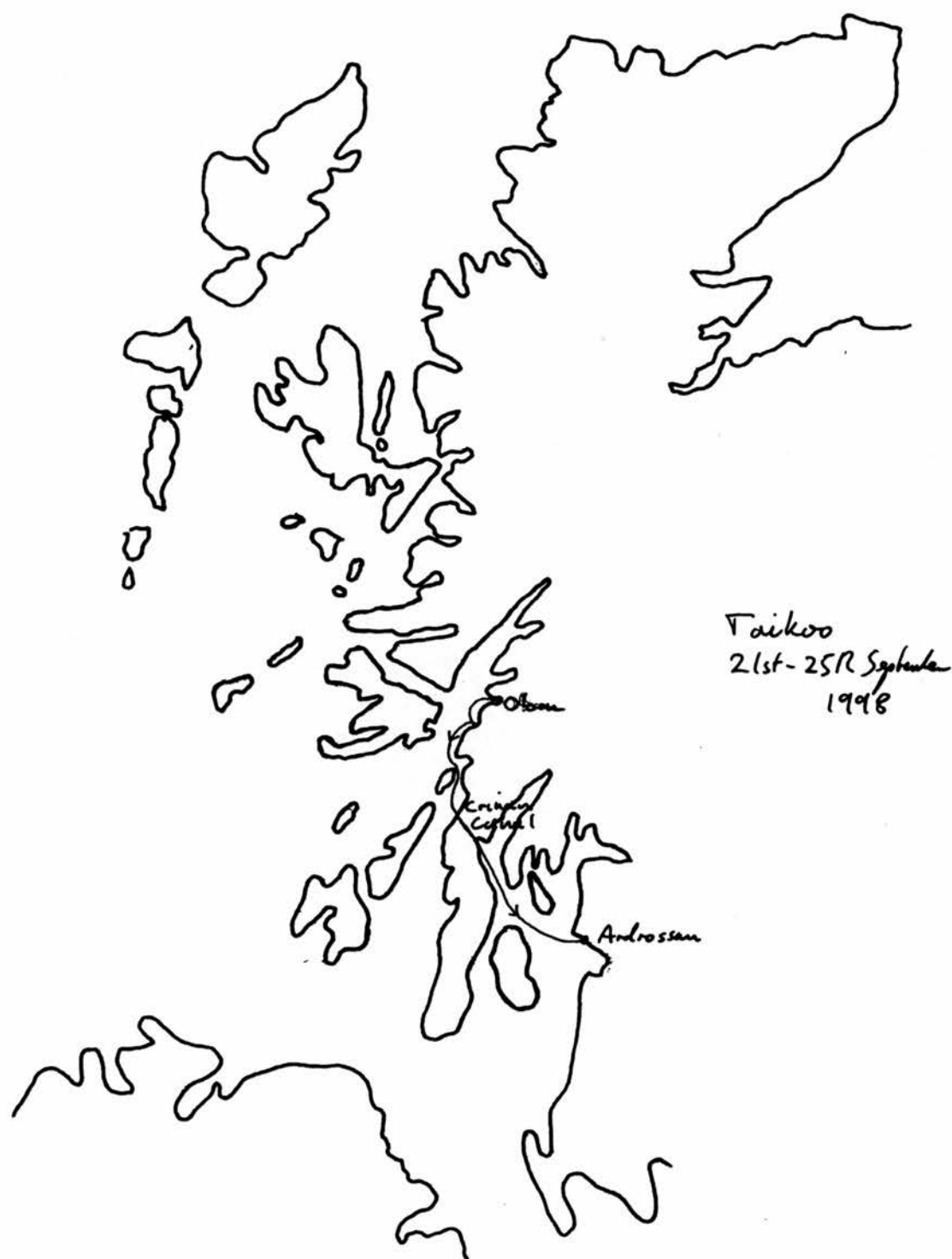
Map 3 Lord Rank 13th – 19th April 1998



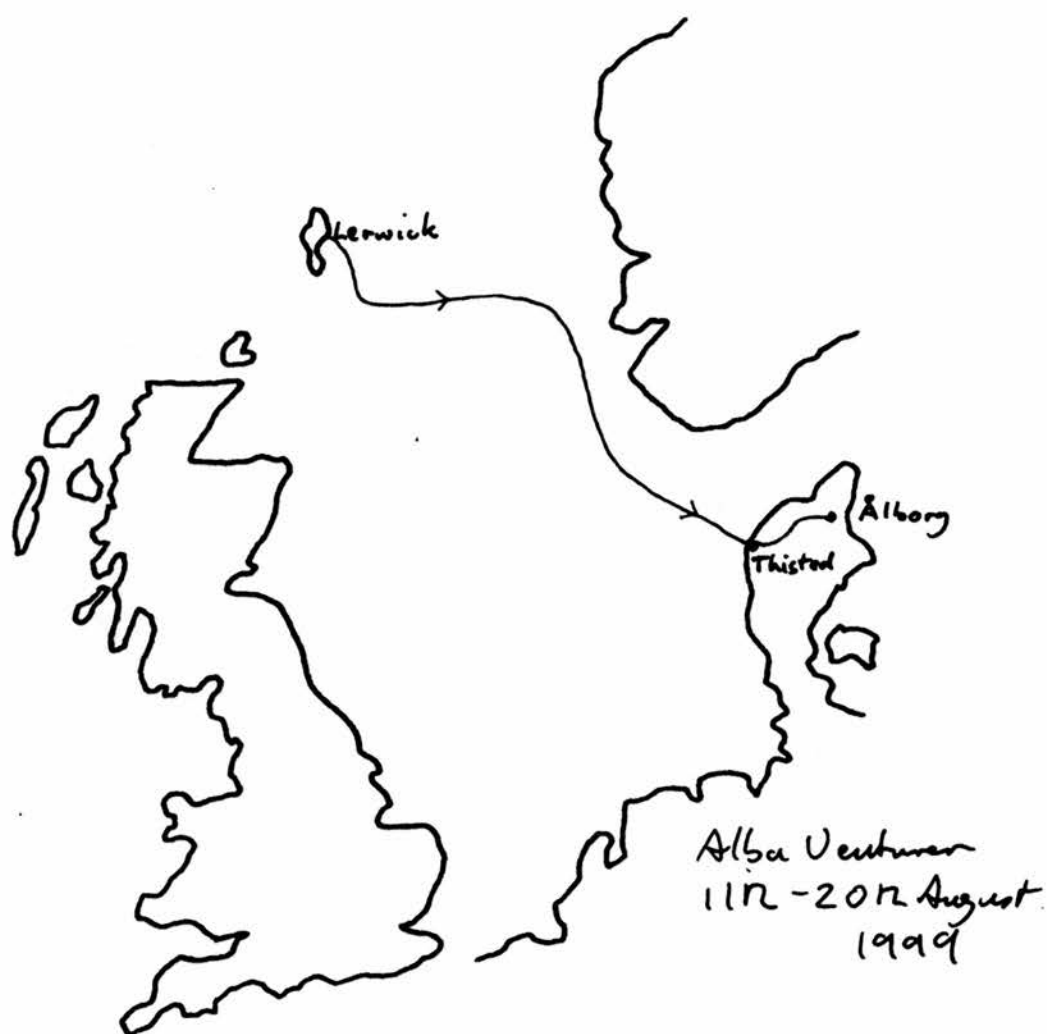
Map 4 Taikoo 1st - 7th June 1998



Map 5 James Cook 14th – 19th July 1998



Map 6 *Taikoo* 21st – 25th September 1998



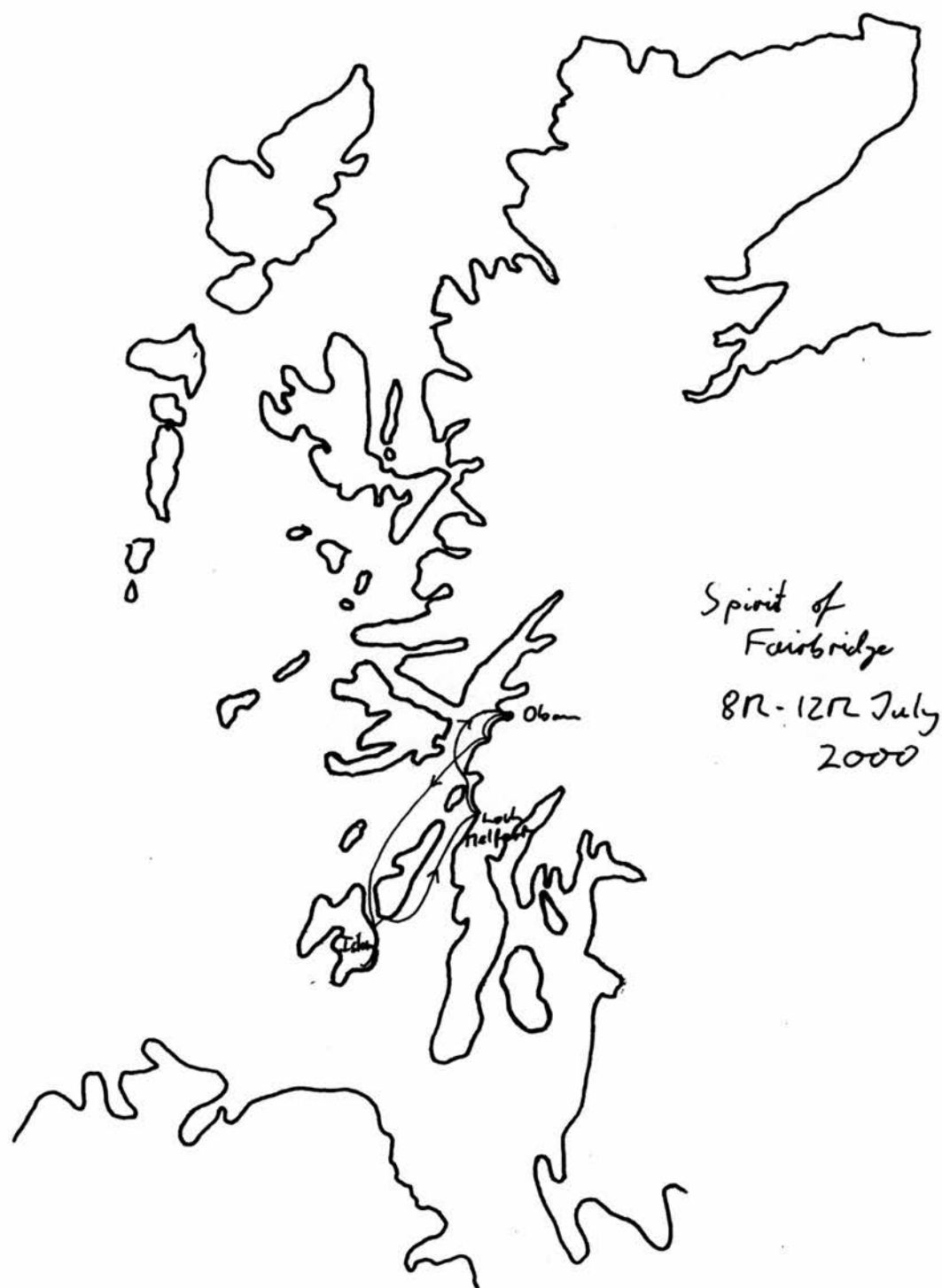
Map 7 Alba Venturer 11th- 20th August 1999



Map 8 Sir Winston Churchill 6th – 18th September 1999



Map 9 Spirit of Fairbridge 31st May – 5th June 2000



Map 10 *Spirit of Fairbridge* 8th – 12th July 2000



Map 11 Alba Venturer 21st - 25th August 2000

Appendix 2: Sample Data

This appendix includes samples of different types of data from different stages of the project. Partial and complete interview transcripts are included from the survey of sail training organisations and from the fieldwork at sea. Descriptive material from several voyages is included, showing how 'raw' fieldnotes were fleshed out and elaborated to develop thickly descriptive accounts. The selection of material for this appendix is intended to demonstrate the variety of different types of material generated during the project, and to illustrate some of the issues and problems faced.

Interviews - survey of sail training organisations

29th January 1998

OYC Office, Gosport

Chris Payne, Training Coordinator - Voluntary Sea Staff

KM: The first thing I'd like to get you to talk about Chris, is a personal history of your involvement with sail training. What the various steps were and how that came about?

CP: Personally I started with Joint Services Sailing Centre. I was in the Air Force for about a million years, obviously the services in general have got excellent facilities and it seemed a shame not to use them, so I went down there and they sort of took me through all the various steps and then eventually at some stage somebody came along and said why don't you come along and do a bit of instructing. So I was an instructor. I [indistinct] got a teaching certificate and all the rest of it. so I went down and started doing teaching and I thought hey this is good fun. I started doing it with them and then I came out of the RAF and ...

How long ago, roughly?

Seven years now. I spent a little bit of time working for Adventure Sailing in Gibraltar, as instructor ...

[section deleted]

What's your job now? Are you still a staff skipper?

I am now a bilingual person, I am a staff relief skipper, I am also the Voluntary Sea Staff Training Coordinator. And I've said in a couple of blurbs that I've put out, the length of a job title is usually in inverse proportion to its importance, and I've got the longest job title in the office.

Are you serious? Do you...?

Well I invented the job title, so .. I also invented the job title and everything that goes with it.

I'll pick up on that in a minute or two. Can I move on and get you to talk about your own version, your own account of the purposes that Ocean Youth Club serves, or pursues.

My version as opposed to the official line? You don't want me to quote the bible?

Yes - you might do both.

To be honest I couldn't quote word for word the OYC ethos. Having said that, when I first came to work for OYC, In December 1992, Graeme Smith had this chat, and he said you'll find a copy of the handbook on board, but don't take very much notice of it, because we're rewriting it. I got the new handbook the day

before yesterday. That's how long it's actually taken to get this thing. What I do believe from personal experience over the past five seasons I've done now, is that you take a bunch of young people from the age of twelve upwards, primarily teenagers, ninety percent of our clients are teenagers of some sort, and you put them on a boat, in a totally alien environment to the vast majority of them, and you get them to change from being a loose aggregation of people, into a team who can work together, and make the boat work. On the first day, I mean you've done enough briefings, you know what it's like, everything is totally chaos, and the kids probably wonder what the hell's going on, sort of rushed around from pillar to post, here put this life jacket on, now take it off again, put these funny yellow smelly suits on and now take them off again, and oh dear doesn't it fit? never mind we'll have to make it. As they rush around as I say the great majority have never been sailing before, don't know what it's all about, and you get them ... to sail the boat. In order to do that they have to learn as much about themselves in the process of doing that as they do about learning to sail the boat. They have ... it forces them to realise that nobody can ever be a stand alone person in these sort of situations. You have to rely on people, you have to relate to other people, you have to be able to communicate with other people, to get certain jobs done. And that's not - you know it happens to be on the boat, but ... I really believe that little seeds always grow into things, and if during the course of a week, only one of those bits of information ... sort of gets into them, and takes root, they will remember that at some future time then we've achieved a goal. So to me the whole ethos is helping - we don't do it all on our own - but helping to give young people an idea of what teamwork is about. I think if you want to sum up OYC in one word it's teamwork. You've got to get people working together.

Can I ask you Chris to think if you can of an individual young person for whom you think it worked particularly well, and just tell me a bit about how that was?

During the course of a season I reckon we take, each boat will take around four hundred people on board. Every one of those four hundred people thinks you're going to remember them individually. In actual fact over the course of a season I reckon you'll remember about ten people either because they've been very good, or very bad. So out of thousands of kids there are some striking individuals. Way back in the early years a young lad called Bobby .. and he came as part of a school group they were a pre formed group, but he was ... I don't think I'm being to unkind, he was a bit fat, he had thick glasses, he was quite bright, but you know, he was the one got picked on all the time, you know how kids in schools will always pick on somebody. He was incredibly under confident, unsure of himself, never pushed himself forward at all. That's how he come over at the beginning of the week, very shy, very quiet. Gradually you became aware that there were within that group a couple of strong individuals, but it became obvious during the course of the week that Bobby was one of life's naturals on a boat. Where the others were struggling, Bobby, you showed him how to do something once and he'd got it. The thing that struck me, was we were sat in I think it was probably Hartlepool but you know it could have been anywhere. We were sat there, it was a beautiful summer's evening, we were waiting for dinner to be cooked by the cooks down stairs, there was about four or five of the kids sat in the cockpit, and we had a session on tying knots and there was a couple of the mates there, and half a dozen kids, getting them to tie knots. Bobby of course had got it, he could tie bowlines behind his back, one handed, and these two older lads, the strong ones in the group who were the kings, the business, they couldn't hack it, and Bobby sat there patient as hell, you wouldn't know him, and he sat there and he showed these two guys how to tie a bowline. And they were impressed because this is Bobby, you know, he's useless, he can't do anything. But he showed them how to tie a bowline. At the end of the week the difference in Bobby was amazing, there have been others like that but he's one that comes to mind.

Can you describe the difference?

He was much more confident, in himself, much more confident. When he came on board he would only speak if somebody spoke to him, at the end of the week he was going around, he was a fairly bubbly sort of guy. When you got him away from the rest of the group, on his own he was good, but at the end of the week he was laughing and joking with the rest of them, and I think the important thing is by the end of the

week that group had accepted him now as an equal. That's the big thing. To me that's wonderful. [section deleted]

Are there things about the Ocean Youth Club that you would change if you could?

Well I am doing. That's why I've got this job.

Tell me about that.

My current brief is to change, to improve, to streamline the way that we are providing training to our voluntary sea staff. Over the time I've been with OYC, when I first came in we still had Colin Lewry, everybody that's as old as you knows Colin Lewry. Great guy, forgotten more about sailing than I'll probably ever know, but he left, just after I joined, there were one or two people in the intervening years who attempted to do something, and started, left it hanging in the air, gone off and done something else. I believe our approach to training has just like spread out, it's become loose and woolly, there's no focus to it, there's no direction to it. It was finally noticed I think that this was happening by the people at the top, helped, possibly by a sixteen page document that I submitted to the director last year. He said well if you think you can do it, come and do it. My primary aim now is to pull all that training back together, to give it a focus, and to let our voluntary sea staff who, committed to the club as they are, what we're doing in the main, in hoping that they will improve and want to get on and get promotion within the club, we say to them ok, you're a second mate now, do you fancy being a first mate? And they say oh, yeah, ok, do a first mate's assessment. And that's it. Two weeks time they come and do a first mate's assessment. That is like taking a seventeen year old person on their seventeenth birthday, and saying there's the car keys, never having driven a car before, here's the car keys, you're taking a driving test, the examiner's waiting for you. And they go but, but, they've seen Daddy driving the car, but they've never done it themselves, all these second mates have seen first mates being first mates but they've never done it and the step to first mate from second mate is the biggest one in the club, so I am making changes to that, subtle ones to start with, I hope, and doing it gently. I don't believe in ripping everything out and saying that's all a load of rubbish. Lets throw all that away and now do it my way. I'm taking what we've got, and just modifying it but giving it standarisisation, a bit of regimentation and trying to make it work. So that's what I am doing. I don't believe in change for change's sake in anything. The rest of what we do is working. I think the various other bits of the club are changing and evolving as we go along to suit the times. i don't think we need to make any drastic changes. I'm a firm believer and I've always said so quite publicly, I believe the eighty foot boats - boat - was a wrong move, I think most of OYC was fairly well split on that, it's now fairly well acknowledged that it was a wrong move, and the next boats will go back to being the 68, 70 foot which appear to be our ideal size. We've had a new director at the helm for how long now, eighteen months, and I think he's doing a good job. He can make the decisions .

Anything else you think it might be useful for me to hear that you've not talked about?

You'll be pleased to know that the first mate assessments last year the pass rate was only fifty percent. The first three that I did last year I failed all three of them and number three was a spectacular failure. He's a very good second mate but he couldn't make the transition.

Commentary: This informant had assessed and passed me as first mate 1n 1995. We had a friendly relationship after that and he clearly assumed some shared understandings and knowledge, for example that I knew or had known someone, and that I 'knew what it was like'. The positive side of this was that he was clearly at ease talking to me and willing to be open about his beliefs and understandings, the negative side was that the assumptions of shared understandings were so strong that it was difficult for me to create an ethnomethodological 'challenge' to the assumption of shared implicit meanings.

1/11/98

Pre-arranged telephone interview

Commodore George Cooper, STA Board Member

KM: can I ask you to start by giving me a brief history of your involvement with the STA? You are a board member, is that correct?

GC: Yes, I am one of the flag officers, I chair the tall ships committee, you have to be a trustee to be a chairman, so as a trustee I am a council member, and the fact that I have got this committee also automatically makes me a member of the international race committee.

Can you tell me how your involvement began?

Yes, in 1990 I think I was coming to the end of my time as Commodore of the Royal Naval Reserve, and I happened to say to a friend who was heavily involved in the STA, if there is anything I can do for the STA let me know. I was serving in the Winston Churchill in 1970 as chief officer, when I got my job as a lifeboat inspector, so I felt I owed the organization something, and as a lifeboat inspector in Wales I had served on the Swansea STA committee. Anyway within a few weeks I was contacted and asked if I could get a group of people together to form a branch here in Poole. I rounded up a few people, we had the meeting in the RNLI headquarters, where I worked and at the end of that meeting in a moment, what shall I say, I was distracted and found myself appointed chairman of the local committee [KM this often happens] We started our branch with 9 people in January of 1991, we now have a branch down here of about 200 people and we raise money locally, this is in addition to my national responsibilities, we raise money locally to send local youngsters within our postcode area. The branch became quite successful and as a result of that I was invited to consider joining the council, via Robin Knox-Johnston whom I know, and I said I would give it a year and see how I got on, because I wasn't looking for too many commitments. After being on the council for six months I was invited to chair the tall ships committee. So there we are.

Could you say a bit about how you see the main purpose of sail training?

Some people refer to it as character-building; I don't believe that's true, I think the character is formed when you are about 5 or six years of age, but I think it provides valuable adventurous training to people during a very important phase of their life. We cover an age span from 16 to 24 and it gives them, it allows them to find out a little more about themselves. It is the first time for many people that they experience what I call real fear in a controlled environment. There are a lot of people never really experience this sort of thing, and they are in a sailing ship, you don't have to create artificiality because the ship imposes the hazard, if you like, it provides the adventurous training, it provides fairly hazardous conditions at times and they learn that if they work as a team and follow the guidance that is around them, they can prove a very valuable member of a sailing ship's crew. They will learn that they can go aloft, and it's quite therapeutic when they realize that as the wind freshens and they are working aloft, reducing canvas and the ship comes back under better control. When you see for example, I have seen this at first hand, occasionally we carry youngsters from maybe reform schools, that sort of thing, one or two, when you see the lad from, who is in care, and you see him realize that perhaps he can do something which the son of a general or an admiral can't do. Then you see them grow in stature.

This business of the social contrasts in the crew is something a lot of people mention. Do you think that's particularly significant?

Yes I do. I think it is jolly good. I suppose in many ways it's a bit like National Service was, when people from all walks of life met together they start to learn to appreciate the other persons point of view. They learn the value of pulling one's weight, the way the ship is rigged, if it takes six people to hoist something or other, five can't do it. It needs six so six have all got to be pulling their weight. They rely on one

another and they become a close team. They learn tolerance, I mean they mix with people of different views, different backgrounds different religions, different races, and it's jolly good. The climax once a year is the tall ships race, and this year it was my privilege to organize the crew interchange. In Lisbon we mixed the crews, we took Russians and put them into British ships, Germans into Bulgarian ships and all that sort of thing. And that is very rewarding. I really do believe in it, and I am conscious that there are some youngsters down here who have never seen Old Harry rocks from seaward, never been out through the harbor entrance. [section deleted]

One thing that some people have suggested is that there is now more emphasis on things like youth development and relationships and education, and rather less on what you might characterise as discipline and adventure

The discipline has to be there, you can't run a sailing ship with inexperienced youngsters without a high level of discipline, so that has to be there. At the same time it's probably done now in a less regimented way than when I was serving in the ship in 1969-70. It's a slightly more relaxed approach, yes I suppose that's a fair comment but you still have to have the discipline and the level of trust.

I have heard the phrase used, the change from the RN to the Red Flag culture.

Yes, it was, in my day it was run, we tended to have naval masters, and we did - I was a Royal Naval Reserve officer - and we ran the afterguard social area like a wardroom. We were very strict on colours at 8 o'clock in the morning and sunset, at the right time and ringing bells and all that sort of thing. Over the years the standard dropped, and I think this was one of the reasons I was asked to become the chairman of the tall ships committee to reintroduce some of the old traditions. We are gradually moving back. We won't go back to where we were in '70 but we have recovered quite a bit of the ground and the ships are looking better.

I was interested to see a few years ago, a Swedish sail training boat, and they were very punctilious about all being out on deck in the morning and seeing the flag go up and so on. If...

I am very keen on that myself. I like to see a ship run properly, tidy gangways, and the ship is looking, you know sails furled properly and all that sort of thing. It gives the right impression.

What do you think have been the most significant changes? Your history goes back to 1969, what do you think have been the most significant changes in that time?

Probably, the ships when they were built, they were built for boys, young men. The original concept was that they would be used by young men who were going to make the sea a career. But that quickly changed and they started to take young men from various walks of life, large groups used to come in from major industries. But then they introduced two all-girl voyages. That was a departure, now most of the voyages are completely mixed, and the youngsters live in one half-deck. That's probably the greatest significant change. In my day we could never have envisaged mixing teenage youngsters in one quarter. Now it's done, occasionally you have slight hiccups-we work very very hard to maintain the moral high ground, but on the whole it works.

Some people have spoken to me and have criticised what you might characterise as the historic movement towards more and more restrictive regulatory frameworks, particularly in relation to safety, and I wondered what you thought about that?

You can't [unclear] it and I'm afraid it's the age we live in. If we are, if the Department of Transport is not drawing up new legislation then Europe is. There's all sorts of things now which have crept in which improves, which is put in place to maintain higher and higher standards of safety. I've seen this, I was chief of operations at the RNLI, and the amount of legislation to achieve the end product was ever growing. I'm afraid it's, it's happened right across the board and it's not only the schooners. The schooners are part of the merchant navy, and what the things like safety meetings now, and all the extra paperwork,

that goes on across the board throughout the merchant navy, so the schooners in that sense are no different.

Can you say something about the different types of vessels that have been developed and the particular benefits? I am thinking slightly wider than the STA because there are larger and a lot of rather smaller vessels used.

When I went back into the STA I had, as a younger man I did take part in a tall ships race when I was serving in the Winston Churchill and we did race with class A ships, barques, barquentines, full rigged ships, all sorts of ships. But now the numbers have increased beyond all expectations, the STA family is organized in such a way that there is something for everyone. If a young man who is sufficiently enthusiastic could, through the STA, arrange to sail on a full-rigged ship, he could, he's got the schooners in this country, we had the Astrid until just a few months ago. The Lord Nelson is for the handicapped even though they take able bodied people as well, so the choice, and then you've got the whole range of smaller vessels, what we call the class C's, you know the ketches and sloops and that sort of thing. So it's horses for courses, but it all amounts to the same thing. It's sail training, it's not tall ships training, with the Class C's but they are fairly large vessels which measure up to a certain standard, and they are used to provide adventurous training afloat.

Do you think there are particular benefits of different sizes of vessels?

Well I think it would be very dull if we were providing adventurous training in one type of ship Only. I think variety is the spice of life. The thing that I would, that I didn't realize, I had no idea until comparatively recently, I'm going back three or four years, I had no idea until I started going to the international conference in London, the size of the family. Sail training is growing now like I imagine scouting grew. We have got two more nations about to join, and what we call the family, these are countries who are not physically members of the sail training Association As such, but take part in these rallies or races, it's enormous. it really is, Japan I think India wants to run a tall ships race, the Australians are organizing races now, Canada is keen to do more transatlantic races and so it goes on. It is a world-wide organization and continues to grow. [section deleted]

12/5/98

Pre-arranged telephone interview

Geoffrey Williams (Director of Development, OYC 1968-76)

KM: What I'd first like to get you to talk about if you will is your history of involvement in sail training, how that came about.

GW: Well, I was teaching in a rather unusual school in New York. [section deleted] We had people from politics, show business, the United Nations, very very wealthy and they'd be brought to school each morning in stretch limos, flunkies in and out, so they were from very privileged backgrounds. I was interested in the idea of sail training and hired or chartered a boat in the Caribbean and charged these youngsters what I thought was an astronomic sum to take them sail training, because I'd read about it in this country, the Sail Training Association, didn't know about the Ocean Youth Club then. These were kids who couldn't tie their own shoelaces you know, the valet did that sort of thing for them. I also had the Dana - Two Years Before the Mast - his grandchildren.

Really?

Yes, two terrific boys

How fantastic

Took them down there. These were kids who were very spoilt, not for love but for material comforts, anyway. So I was seeing them in the classroom, and seeing how they performed on the boat and then seeing them in the classroom again, and you know a dramatic difference I thought. They grew up and I saw new sides to their personality and gain confidence et cetera. So that's what excited me for the idea, of.. long term, getting involved in sail training. I didn't think about it much until on the Transatlantic race about day 20 or so I thought well what are we going to do next, and I started thinking about it again then. When I won the race I was in a good position to go to large companies and bang the table and say look this club needs X.

This was what? The early 70s?

This was 1968. I joined the club formally in November with the idea that we would build the boats, I would raise the money. I started going to see companies that November, I went to See Owen Aisher first who'd promised to build us a boatyard, but he handed me from one to the other, I went to Norman Waites, and he impressed me enormously, and he passed me on to somebody else, then somebody else. In about a year I suppose I got to about twelve heads of companies or so on who about 9 or 10 of the paid for the boats.

These were the famous Robert Clark Ketches?

Yes, it was based on my own boat, my own boat being used by the club at that time, and this was a blown up version but with one important wrinkle it had to only draw 7'6" so they never really went to windward like they should do. So that's a bit of a disappointment but the club stipulated that as an essential requirement. So that's how it started. When I came back from the States I did go and look at Outward Bound, I looked at STA, I went round and looked at one or two but I liked the spirit and idea of Ocean youth Club and there was a job to do there, they had these old boats which wanted replacing.

Can you say a bit more about what it was you particularly liked about Ocean Youth Club?

[pause]

I wasn't so attracted to the semi sort of militaristic approach which STA appeared to have, and the hierarchical structure. It [OYC] was really very similar to what I'd done on an informal basis in the Caribbean. I'd just done it by chance, flying by the seat of my pants, but it was very much the same sort of feel and atmosphere. I suppose there wasn't any other major sail training organisations at that time, if I went to Outward Bound I wouldn't have an outlet for the sail training side, so it really was a small choice between STA which I didn't quite like the feel of so much as Ocean Youth Club.

Can you say what you think have been the most significant changes since the late 60s since you first became involved?

In what way?

In sail training?

Well I was only there until 76 and I was very heavily involved in the boatbuilding programme. I was nominally in charge of the whole club for about a year ago but I was basically based in Penrhyn, the job was to build the boats on time et cetera, the areas were run as they are now. With the management structure I wasn't able to have as much influence as I'd have liked. I did produce quite a number of ideas about, it should not be, I became more rigorous in my approach and thought it should be less of a holiday, which was the way I started out, and more adding value by way of intellectual or physical pursuits in addition to the pure holiday if you like, I don't know if I've got the right word [section deleted]

One the other things you might have something interesting to say about is the way the type of vessels being used has changed. We're seeing the Robert Clark Ketches as the archetypal sail training boat being superseded by more modern designs; I wonder if you have any thoughts about that?

I'm not up to flying speed on the details of those boats; I don't know really. They seem to be a good deal bigger, 18 people on board?

The interesting thing, the newest OYC boat they've just made the decision to sell it because it was a mistake, and it's still new enough to sell and get some money for it.

I was very interested in the graph of length as a function of cost, as a function of the number of young people that would be carried, as a function of how they would pay for the skipper's annual costs. With Robert we did a number of graphs of larger and smaller boats, and the size we came up with. Twelve seemed like the maximum number for a skipper and volunteer mate at that time to deal with, comfortably not comfortably but that's stressing them enough anyway. It seemed that once we went to a bigger boat, the economics weren't so good as at this size, and went to a smaller boat, wasn't enough people on board to pay for the skipper's annual salary and running costs. [section deleted] At that time the studies we did, that seemed to be the sort of optimum size.[section deleted]

Yes. Last thing; could you say what you think the benefits for young people who participate are?

(Laughs)

What good does it do?

[Pause]

I would really revert to the experience I had in the States, because there I could see... If you're an Ocean Youth Club Skipper you might see them come, and see them go, but you don't know particularly what they're like in their environment before they come to you, or in their environment afterwards. Whereas in the States I was teaching them for six to eight months beforehand, and then for the same period afterwards. So my experience would revert to that rather than Ocean Youth Club, I mean the difference is very small, they were American boys but it was the same sort of setup that we went to. They were younger too, I suppose, they were 11 to 13, so at that age, anyway, there was a very considerable increase in self-assuredness and confidence. I would have thought that was the most signal improvement that I noted. Self-reliance, confidence, I think that was the most dramatic change that I noticed. [concluding section deleted]

Commentary: This was a very interesting interview to conduct. Geoffery Williams is something of a legendary figure both as a very early transatlantic racing sailor and as the instigator of the model of vessel that has been so influential since. It seemed like a great privilege to have a justification to phone him up and have this conversation, a bit like being able to talk to one of the Beatles! The sense of connection was very powerful for me, particularly when I discovered myself to be, in this conversation, only 4 'degrees of separation' away from RH Dana.

Interviews – fieldwork at sea

Taikoo 6/98

Serial Interview

J, Female aged 15

Day 1

KM: What I wanted to talk to you about was coming on the boat, what that was like, what brought you here and so on.

J: I was speaking to somebody who had been, she had had a really good time. Then I met loads of other people who had been and they had said it was really good.

People from school?

Yes. And I just fancied the idea of travelling about and getting stuck in.

So have you been sailing before?

I was sailing Toppers just a wee while ago.

So what kinds of things do you do when you are not at school, normally?

J: Horse riding, canoeing. Bits and bobs.

What did you think when you came on the boat? What were the first things that struck you?

I thought the bunk beds were luggage racks (laughs). It was smaller than I expected. I mean it's not that small.

You came with a group, with three other girls from the same school?

Yes. I knew – quite well because we live in the same hostel. I live on [Island] so I stay in a hostel when I'm at school. [section deleted]

Day 3

(Note of a conversation with J, not taped)

I had a talk with J this afternoon while we were sailing up towards Harris. She was telling me about living in the hostel and about having to leave her family at home. 'I missed them at first but once you get used to it it's ok.'

Day 5

[section deleted]

KM: And what about meeting all these strange people?

J: It was really nice because you get to meet different people and they are all kind of interested in the same thing, because they have like volunteered to go.

Volunteered?

Yes, like they have come because they want to do it. It's not like say at school when you get made to do stuff that you maybe don't really really want to. [pause] Well maybe you don't mind but it's not something you have chosen.

So choosing is important?

I think so, I don't think we would all have got on so well if some people thought they had been made to come.

What do you think you have got out of it? We are getting towards the end aren't we?

I think just working as a team, being able to take orders from other people and learn about sailing and stuff.

When you say working as a team, can you say a bit more about that?

You have to work with other people, pull on ropes or doing the cooking and stuff, get along with each other.

Have there been things about it that you have not enjoyed or not seen the point of?

Anchor watch. I see the point of it, but it was just getting up early, was just.....

It's not much fun is it. Thinking about this in comparison to being at school, could you say what you think the biggest difference is?

You do more kind of practical things, you are learning as you are doing things, you are not looking at books all the time. It's a kind of one to one thing, there is just one teacher with 30 people, here you can just go and ask someone something.

Thinking about the staff, do you find the staff like teachers or different from teachers?

They are different because they are more relaxed. I mean they are safety conscious and everything but they are relaxed at the same time. Just having fun.

Something I particularly wanted to ask you, earlier in the week you were talking about living in a hostel, so you are used to this idea of communal living, is this like that?

Yes.

Can you say what the similarity is?

Because you are with the same people all the time. You get to know them really well.

Is that always good?

(Laughs) Well usually but sometimes it's difficult.

Difficult?

Yes, if you don't like some people. Sometimes you want a bit of privacy and you can't get it because there are so many people.

[section deleted]

SWC 9/99

Interview with Trainee J aged 18

Esbjerg 0620, on harbour watch.

Day 5

KM: J, how are you this morning?

J: Putting it politely, knackered, at the moment. Not a very good night's sleep, some of them were a bit rowdy when they came down. It doesn't help sleeping next to the gangway.

So you got a slightly disturbed night?

Yes, I managed to get some sleep before they came back.

You are a student, is that right?

I am just about to start University. I have just finished my A levels, when we get back to Hull on the 18th I go home and go off to Bangor on the 19th.

Where is home?

Home is Milton Keynes, and then probably get driven up to Bangor so that is four hours or so in the car.

So this will be a good preparation for fresher's week, sleep deprivation and lots of drink?

[Pause]. Yes probably.

Had you been to sea at all in any way before this?

I had been to sea, but only as a cabbage, sitting around and not doing anything.

In what kind of context?

On a ferry. I have been across the North sea to Esbjerg before, but the conditions weren't as rough as the ones we had.

So you have never even done dinghy sailing?

Not on the sea, I have done dinghy sailing on inshore [inland?] waters.

So what made you want to come? Well how did you find out about it?

It was all through doing the Duke of Edinburgh Award, they had a couple of leaflets in the place I was doing it, and a friend of mine did it for her gold residential in the Canaries, so I got her to get me the leaflets for it, and then I thought it would make a kind of stop-gap between sixth form and university as well. Plus I would get something out of it.

You have done your Duke of Edinburgh's Gold?

Doing it. This is my residential.

Is there anything that you have done in your life so far that you would compare with this and say, well it reminds me of.....?

Not really, there is nothing that has been so much hard work but you get so much enjoyment, satisfaction out of it.

What do you think you learn coming on a boat, a ship like this?

There is always some element of teamwork, if you have to accept responsibilities for [unclear] things, when you are given things to do like the helm, you can't turn round and say I don't want to, you have just got to take it. When you are working with the sails that is all teamwork, there is nothing individual about it.

Can you say what you mean by teamwork?

Well, organising yourselves when there is a group of you on one of the sheets or the halliards or downhaul or anything like that. To actually make sure the sail goes up, goes down, goes sideways as it should do, as opposed to you doing it your way, or somebody else trying to do it their way, you all do it the same way and work together so it happens.

Can you take that idea of teamwork anywhere else?

There is some element of teamwork in things like the expedition for the Duke of Edinburgh, you are walking round in a group of people, the way you are going is by common agreement. You have worked it out as a group before and you have to listen to other people's opinions. I think certainly where I work in Waitrose there is some part of teamwork in there, you have to be able to work with other people and cope with other people. It's something that could be carried over into the workplace as well.

What's been the best moment of the trip so far?

Probably was when we were asked, me and G were asked to go and set the rafee. Because climbing up on the upper yard is one thing when you are just motoring and it's fairly calm, but when you are actually out on the open sea and you are just about as high up as you can go, swaying backwards and forwards. You have got to be confident, and it shows that I can actually say ok, it might be dangerous but I will do it.

Do you think it is dangerous?

It could be. Something that high up, if you missed your footing, yes your safety harness could catch you if it's clipped on, but then there are parts climbing up just before the yard, where you have to unclip and you are not clipped on to anything.

So quite a challenge really. What about the worst moments.

Force eight winds and thirteen foot waves. Dinner going up, dinner going down.

Were you sick?

Yes I was.

On a scale from 0 to 10, how sick were you?

Probably about five or six because once I had got rid of it I went to bed and crashed out, there was, I was feeling queasy before throwing up, all I wanted to do was curl up in that corner and fall asleep but I couldn't. I tried to keep my mind off it but as they say better out than in.

How did you feel about the, there was one watch when you were on, clearly not feeling great, and a few other people were on and there were several people either unable or unwilling to contribute. How do you feel about that.

It didn't really bother me. The fact that I was on watch gave me something to do, keep my mind off it which helps. [section deleted]

Description - Fieldwork at Sea

Taikoo 1st - 7th June 1998.

The following demonstrates the development of brief and fuller fieldnotes into a 'rich' account. The rich account in this case was subsequently collapsed to form part of Chapter 6. In this sample all the original 'notes' were tape recorded. This was the most frequently used method although written notes were also used from time to time. In this example the full account was written up within a week or so of the end of the voyage.

Fieldnote: it's 2.30 in the afternoon, I have just been helping to hand down the groceries. We are alongside at Oban, there's a big Norwegian fisherman in front and a dive boat behind us. The sun is out, it's a lovely day.

Developed account: A sunny June day aboard *Taikoo* at Oban, tied up alongside the North Pier among several working boats including a Fishery Protection Vessel and a former Trawler converted as a divers' charter vessel. The context is therefore one where the boundary between maritime work and leisure is blurred and ambiguous. This is not a marina full of shiny yachts, identifiably concerned with recreation, but a serious environment peopled by professional seamen aboard working vessels. The sail training vessel herself has a well-used but by no means worn look to her. The decks are clean and the various ropes, fenders and equipment all appear tidy and well maintained.

[Next Record] The first trainees are just arriving. It's about low water so a bit of a climb down the ladder. Some of the kids are a bit worried about that.

It is close to Low Water, and the deck, three metres or so below the level of the quay, can only be reached by descending a vertical metal ladder, the lowest few rungs of which are a little slippery with seaweed and algae. The ladder itself is invisible from above, the only clue to its presence is a vertical metal rail attached to one of the large wooden posts projecting a metre or so above the edge of the quay. The technique for descending the ladder involves taking hold of this rail and, facing in to the quay, feeling with a foot below the parapet for the top rung of the ladder. With practice confidence grows to a stage where one leans well out to see the ladder leading down. This first obstacle often presents arriving trainees with a moment of clear doubt and uncertainty. I heard someone say "I'm not going down there!" but they all made it onto the deck so that's one achievement.

[Next Record] I've been saying hi to the kids as they come down, and sending them down to Christine.

The trainees are greeted as they arrive by staff members and directed down the main hatch into the saloon, passing their luggage down to each other. In the saloon they are greeted by a person with a clipboard who introduces herself as Christine, asks their names which she checks against a list, and directs them forward into the sleeping cabins with the instruction to "Put your stuff on a bunk". As the trainees arrive they gather in small groups on deck and in the saloon. The atmosphere is quite subdued, with a lot of extended silences, except for the group of five girls who arrived together and are busily discussing whether they have brought the right kind of warm clothes. Several of the new trainees are sitting in the saloon not saying a thing, and talking to them reveals that the two Greenock boys knew each other before coming, the five Oban girls "knew the others from class but not all part of the same crowd".

[Next Record] It's 3 o'clock, they are all here and Christine is gathering everyone into the saloon.

[Next Record] It's now 6.30, we are motoring towards Lismore light. I haven't had a moment to record but we have done all the standard induction things. Tom did the sandwich thing for introductions, his was

marmalade and salami and I think I said cheese and banana. We did harnesses and oilskins and the heads. Christine and Tom did the watch bill while We did the deck walk. I did the safety briefing, and we got off the pier about six. There's not really any wind so we are just going to motor over to Craignure and go on the pier there for tonight. The name game and the briefings were very standard. Tom started the names, then it was me, Darren, Shona, I'll need to look at the list again. Doing the safety talk I tried to get them thinking about what could happen rather than just giving a lecture. They've all seen Titanic so we were ahead of the game in relation to keeping a lookout. We did a bit of basic instruction, winches and so on, then sorted out the warps for leaving. Christine drove us off the pier and we managed to get everything stowed quite smoothly. We set the mizzen and the main just for practice, it's a little bit swelly so not a bad thing.

By 3 o'clock all the trainees have been 'ticked off' on the list and Christine goes around the boat asking everyone to gather in the saloon. It is a little crowded with sixteen people in this space, but all the trainees are seated around the table. The two mates are both aged about forty, they were standing on the opposite side to the galley, and Tom and I sat ourselves at the foot of the companionway steps, on the engine box. Tom introduces himself by name as Tom, "I'm the Skipper this trip. Welcome aboard. Has everyone found a bunk?" Nods and yesses. "We need to do quite a few things this afternoon before we can go to sea. You all need to see how to put a lifejacket on and that sort of thing, and we need to talk about some safety things. The first thing we need to do is to start learning each other's names. What I like to do is for everyone to tell us their name, what you are looking forward to about the trip, and your favourite sandwich. OK? I'll start. My name is Tom, I'm the Skipper, I'm looking forward to sailing in this lovely weather. My favourite sandwich is marmalade and salami." A few people laugh. He looks to his left and catches my eye. "My name's Ken, I'm the first mate. My favourite sandwich is, cheese and banana."

Tom says "Sounds delicious. You have to look after Ken because if anything happens to me, Ken will be responsible for getting you and the boat back to harbour safely." Me again "Oh yes. My name's Ken and he's Tom." We both look expectantly at the nearest trainee, sitting just forward of the galley. He looks back and then says "My name's D**, I have never been sailing before but my sister came last year and said it was really good." Brian asks "And what's your favourite sandwich?"

"I dunno. Ham."

I say "Now you have to remember our names" pointing at myself then Tom.

"Ken and Tom" says D**.

The next trainee introduces herself as S**. She says she is at Oban High School and has seen the boat before but never been sailing on such a big boat. Without prompting she repeats the names "D**, Ken, Tom".

The introductions continue with those further round the cabin having an increasing number of names to remember but most trainees are quite successful in remembering the names that came before their own. Christine introduces herself as second mate, and John introduces himself as third mate.

When the introductions are done, I take over from Brian, who goes into his cabin with Christine and some documents. The trainees are divided into three (random) groups and John and I each take a group of trainees on a tour round the boat, showing them how to put on a lifejacket, how to put on a safety harness and how to clip the harness tether to the points provided. They are shown how to operate the toilets, a procedure involving a valve and a pump rather than a flush, and they hear a stern injunction against putting 'anything you haven't already eaten or drunk, apart from a few sheets of toilet paper' down the toilet. Finally they are helped to find a set of waterproof clothing in the right size.

All this takes about 45 minutes, and when it is finished the trainees gather in the saloon again. Christine has boiled a kettle and offers tea or coffee which most of the trainees accept. The atmosphere has changed significantly in the hour or so since the introductions began, with more interaction among the trainees and between the staff and the trainees. I take the seat of authority, on the engine box.

"Has everyone got a drink who wants one? Thanks Christine. What we have to do now is to talk about all the disasters that could happen so that we all have the same idea about what to do if there's a problem. Has anybody any idea of the sort of thing I'm talking about?"

A moment's silence. D** says "Sinking?"

Another voice says "Crashing into an iceberg like in Titanic" Some laughter.

"Yes" I respond. "Things like that. There are three kind of big emergencies that we need to be ready for. They are not very likely at all if we are careful but we still need to have a plan just in case. I'm going to talk a bit about what would happen if we had a fire on the boat, what if someone falls over the side and finally if we start sinking." The 'safety briefing' lasts about twenty minutes and in this case uses a combination of didactic pronouncements, for example in relation to the procedure to be followed if someone falls over the side, and dialogue with the trainees inviting them to consider where, for example fires might most likely start and how the risk of fire could be avoided.

Following the safety brief the trainees are formally divided into 'watches' of four, each under the supervision of one of the three mates. (Tom and Christine were sorting this out while the trainees were being given their tour.) Some further instruction is conducted in these groups, working on deck and seeing how to hoist and lower a sail, how to use a winch safely and various related technical aspects of sailing, rope handling and so forth. At about six o'clock the engine is started, trainees are instructed to go and put on their waterproofs and harnesses, the lines tying the vessel to the pier are removed, one by one, and with Christine, the second mate, at the helm, we move away from the pier. A good deal of activity follows immediately, with the heavy ropes (warps) used for mooring to be coiled and taken to the forepeak for storage along with the fenders. As *Taikoo* passes out of the restricted waters of Oban Bay preparations begin to set some sails and despite the lack of wind, the main and mizzen sails are set. The immediate plan is to motor to an evening anchorage, these two sails are set both to give the trainees practice, and because having sails set reduces the tendency for the boat to roll, making the motion more comfortable.

[Next Record] It's now 1030, we are tied up to the pier at Craignure. We ate very tasty spag bol at sea on the way over and arrived here about 9. It took about half an hour to get sorted so it was about ten by the time we were secured alongside. We had a short meeting to talk about where we were, what to do next, and about cleaning and the cooking rota. I negotiated a lights out time of 11.45 and have got the third mate briefed to wake the breakfast cooks at 7.

As the evening draws on the trainees and staff take turns to go below and eat spaghetti bolognese prepared by John and a couple of trainees. Two of the trainees are nominated to clean up the dishes and the galley, and the remainder take turns to steer and act as lookouts. There is much excited talk and lots of questions from the trainees as Oban disappears astern and a lighthouse is passed on a passage toward the Sound of Mull. A little under three hours leads us to Craignure on Mull where the warps and fenders all come back on deck, the sails are lowered and stowed, and the complex manoeuvre of bringing the boat alongside and securing her safely to the pier evolves through its several stages. Once all is secure the staff and trainees gather again, teas and coffees are handed out from the galley by the third mate, and Tom speaks from the engine box. This time he holds up a chart, and points out "Where we started from" and "Where we are now". He goes on to talk about tomorrow "Once we have had breakfast and cleaned up the boat, as you can see it is already getting a bit messy, and you guys have only been on a few hours. Once we've done that we will go and look for some wind, up the Sound of Mull, (points at the chart) and practice some sailing. Then we'll head out to the west and go somewhere. We will need to see what the weather is doing

before we decide but there are quite a few different islands and places we can go.” Tom turns to me “Anything else?”

I look around the saloon. “Did everyone enjoy their dinner?” A number of affirmative nods, yesses and other comments. “I think we should have a wee cheer for John and his helpers.” (All cheer.) “For the rest of the trip you guys will be doing the cooking. We’ll do a list so that you know who is cooking which meal and the staff will help you out. We’ll talk about that a bit more in the morning so for now we’ll just say that the breakfast cooks are John and Elizabeth. OK? A time for ‘lights out’ is discussed and some rules about being on deck in darkness outlined (stay in the cockpit, essentially), and by midnight all is dark and more or less quiet aboard.

Description - fieldwork at sea

Sir Winston Churchill 6th - 18th September 1999.

During this voyage my role allowed me more space to focus on data generation and it was possible to dictate quite extended ‘rich’ accounts of events and episodes, sometimes in ‘real time’, describing events as they were going on.

6/9/99 Monday 0950

We have had breakfast, quite a fancy breakfast with lots of bacon and eggs and all that stuff, there is not room for everybody on the boat to all eat in one place, even with only the staff aboard, so there were actually three different sets of people sitting eating. The permanent staff were in the chartroom I think, some of the staff were in the “duty mess” (a small dining space about the size of an old-fashioned railway carriage, on the starboard side at the forward end of the deckhouse; used in a range of different ways). I was down in the half deck with the watch leaders, the bosun’s mate, one of the other watch officers.

In the duty mess there was the engineer, the third watch officer, the cook’s assistant. There is clear division there, partly driven by the size of the spaces, neither the chartroom nor the duty mess could accommodate more than about six people, there simply isn’t any space where you could all be communal. No I suppose they could all have come down to the half deck, that would have been possible.

7/9/99 Tuesday 0920

Too busy yesterday really to record very much in the afternoon, and despite the fact that I am in a lowly position all the exact same difficulties appear. There are a whole range of things sparking off in my mind yesterday, watching how things happen. The complexity and structured nature of the programme is very striking, and certainly does have a relationship to the size and complexity of the vessel.

Some of the things I was thinking about yesterday were, gender and how the male and female trainees were treated differently. There was little evident effort in our watch to, when they did the up and over which is part of the induction, you go up and over the crow’s nest on the foremast, one of the noticeable things about that was that all the guys in the watch went first, and the watch leader Sophie, and the bosun Jane, neither of them made any encouragement of the girls to take a lead. So there it was, the active thing, lads being to the fore doing something that the girls were in a sense almost expected to find difficult. The last person over was S** who is very small, Jane went up with her and talked her over it, although she was I thought seemed perfectly ok about it and not over-anxious any more than anyone else who had never done anything else like that.

Tuesday 1720

A key moment for everyone was the signing on of the crew. Everyone aboard has signed the ship's papers and is told they are now subject to merchant navy regulations. So far as the volunteers are concerned this is done in a relaxed and informal, almost casual way. The trainees however are required to participate in quite an elaborate formal ritual. The trainees assemble on the after deck, and are called into the chart room one by one, a watch at a time.

My watch is "fore-watch" and came first. I sat at one of the tables in the port aft corner; the captain, medical officer and purser sat together at the opposite corner. Trainees were brought into the chartroom singly and sat opposite the captain, who shook hands with them and introduced himself and the two others.

The medical officer made some inquiries about health, partly based on information in the forms completed by or on behalf of each trainee. The purser then collected from the trainee all his or her valuables including keys, credit cards, mobile phones and all their money. Trainees were told that this was done for their protection, because there was no secure storage for individual possessions in the half-deck. Once this part of the ritual was completed, the trainee was sent over to my corner, and the next trainee brought down to the captain's group. My task was to introduce myself to the trainee and to get their signature on a document which listed all the persons aboard.

8/9/99 1340

I have just been talking to Steph. The conditions at the moment are, the wind is from the southeast roughly, blowing about 6 to 7, so there is a bit of a sea running, probably waves about two to three metres, we are going along very nicely. We have got the watch on deck on the bridge, and about half a dozen people sitting on the aft deck, one or two feeling a bit queasy but the rest looking pretty relaxed and comfortable, so very much into the sea-going routine. The routinised changes of watch, changes of helm and lookouts and so on going on very smoothly. What is interesting thinking about the division of labour in the staff is that that is actually mirrored right into the watches, where there is a very structured, automated or routinised system for rotating the lookouts, Bridge messenger and notetaker, and helm. Those rotate every hour or half hour, so it is very structured and systematic, much more so than is the practice on smaller boats.

[Annotation] During this record and observation of conditions, noted on the tape the sound of water washing along the lee deck, clearly quite a significant bit of data about the authenticity of the conditions.

Another thing to record is that I am feeling really sleepy, and it is quite hard to motivate myself to get up there and do interviews and observation. I am on again at 4 until six and then again midnight until four, so it is going to be quite a tiring night. I think a bit more sleep before that is probably a good plan, so I am going to have a snooze.

12/9/99 0900

We have just had the captain's meeting this morning, we are leaving here at ten thirty this morning and heading back to the UK, port as yet unspecified although Whitby has been mentioned.

There was a bit of discussion about the situation last night. Young M** who is number 13 in mizzen watch, and who has been the focus of a lot of discussion, did not turn up for his stint of harbour watch, which was probably eight until 9, I was certainly aware of it at the time. He was apparently located by his watch leader and did come back after an hour and a half, by this time someone else had, the point was passed where he could redeem the situation.

The view was expressed that he was a bit of a shirker, that he didn't want to work, that he was taking every opportunity to skive off, talking to Mike his watch officer who has chatted to him, the lad has had a shitty life, it is no surprise that he finds full cooperation with authority in this kind of venture quite difficult. It remains to be seen, it is highly speculative what he might get out of it. I don't particularly want to interview him, I don't think he would be very useful, he is not very articulate or forthcoming from the evidence of the conversations I have tried to have with him. He doesn't talk a lot to adults, I think perhaps he might have been let down in the past.

Anyway the plan is to go out of here at ten thirty, yards manned (sic), cannon will be fired and off we go to sea. Barry is doing the briefing just now and he is going to tell people various things including the suggestion that those who find themselves susceptible to seasickness should take a pill before setting sail, rather than waiting until they start to feel sick.

16/9/99 1500 approx

I am now back up on the foredeck, with fore watch, Sophie [watch leader] is out of the game at the moment, she is really not very well at all, she is lying in her bunk with quite a bad cold. Fore watch are up here at the moment with Chris the bosun's mate standing in for Sophie, Barry is supervising. They have just dropped the outer jib, and the team are standing around waiting for instructions. They are just being put onto the downhauls, for the inner jib so that can come down. It is by no means terrible out here, it is blowing about a 4, the deck is going up and down probably 2 to 3 metres in the bigger waves, certainly where Chris is, right up in the bow. [Barry's voice- are we ready? Haul away.]

More sounds of heaving - this is the heaving down of the inner jib, quite a lot of effort required to get it down, and potentially the whips of the sheets are a significant hazard. It is not a seriously dangerous procedure but there are clearly risks involved. It has been explained to the trainees what the risks are, particularly from these flying ropes. Barry tells me that he has recently replaced heavy steel bullseye blocks on these whips, with light synthetic eyes, much less dangerous when flapping about. [section deleted]

There is quite a lot going on up here. The classic phrase would be organised chaos, I am having to watch where I am standing, I am not taking any part in this but I am here and I don't either want to get in anyone's way or to get injured. The fore gaff is coming down now. There are two people on the halliards, two people on the vang's controlling the gaff, sail flapping, someone at the mast pulling the luff of the sail down. It is very noisy. Meanwhile we have got three or four of fore watch, up on the bowsprit stowing the jibs. It is really all happening. A big wave just hit the bow. [break]

So that is the gaff down, the sail still to be stowed. It is a fairly dramatic scene, it is almost, quite powerful. It is the essence of being at sea in a sailing ship. There are these guys, out doing that, stowing the sail. It is not dangerous, it is fairly wet and quite difficult, it requires teamwork and cooperation. They have probably never done it before and it looks as though the sail stow is a bit of a dog's breakfast, but it is happening. There is S**, slapping the sail, trying to get it into a neat fold, getting the sail ties round it. It is a tremendous sight. The visual aspect is very powerful and I suppose one of the things you might think about is could you film this. In some ways it would tell far more than description ever can, even a better description than I could ever do. How to do it justice?

Description - fieldwork at sea

Spirit of Fairbridge 31st May – 5th June 2000.

Collecting data in real time during much of this voyage was almost impossible due to the low staffing level. However there was an extended period at anchor in Campbeltown when a major preoccupation was the desire of on trainee 'J' to leave the boat. This series of events is described in Chapter 9 and the data here was directly dictated at various points through the day.

1/6/200 Morning

So it's Thursday morning, we are at Anchor in Campbeltown Loch. I am not sure what time I stopped recording last night, but it got pretty wild once we came around the top of Arran into Kilbrannan Sound, we hit some fairly rough water. It felt pretty rough at times in this boat so it was very rough in fact. Dougie reckons it was about as bad as he has ever seen around here, I felt the same so that is two reasonably well informed opinions, so it was pretty rough.

A lot of people were quite sick, and they were all clearly very tired after the long journey that most of them had had, all but a couple of the trainees gradually disappeared by I think about ten thirty, so we were left with the three staff and the occasional help from M* and B*, to get the boat into Campbeltown, get the sails down and the boat anchored. So it was pretty tough going for everyone, and I think we were all pretty close to making bad decisions or just collapsing through being completely knackered. It was very clear that it was seasickness, it was a degree of seasickness. I took a pill, I don't think Dougie did but he was saying that he was feeling pretty rough. It was not just tiredness, it was clearly seasickness because as soon as we got into the shelter of the spit behind Davaar island, as soon as we got into flat water, suddenly we all started feeling much better, tired but a good deal more lively and able to do things. We got the boat anchored.

We decided last night that we were not going to wake people up. This morning voices started about 7, I chose to get out of my bed and have words because there were some people being very loud very early. We have had a very laid back morning, it's nearly ten o'clock. Dougie has done a briefing about the clean-up. It has been quite instructive listening to the banter, they have been perfectly clear about what they were expected to do, they were clearly expecting to do it and were simply waiting for Dougie to brief them as to exactly what was required. What materials were needed and all of that stuff. There was none of the sense you occasionally get of people not wanting to do it. Everybody got up this morning except J**, he lay in his bunk until quite recently, Dougie went and talked quietly to him for a few minutes and he apparently got up, to great applause. Whatever he said was evidently the right thing for that particular individual. [section deleted0

1230

We are still anchored in Campbeltown Loch, the weather is damp with drizzle, it has been drizzling on and off all morning, the wind is moderate from the south West roughly, and this morning's activities, the main interest has been the review. After the clean-up which went off not to a dramatically high standard, but satisfactorily, after the clean-up we sat around the table in the saloon and Dougie structured a review session in what I understand is a fairly typical Fairbridge fashion.

It wasn't highly structured and I don't think he had planned in much detail what he was going to do, in advance, what he ended up doing, was everybody round the table, not quite saying something nice about the person sitting next to them, but certainly reflecting on the experience and talking about any niggles they had, or issues they wanted to raise. I didn't quite hear how that was put but it was certainly treated in

that way. People had some really interesting stuff to say. That ranged from the things about the sailing and how people had found that, a lot of comments about the, after the event reflecting on the bad weather and people taking the view that it was a worthwhile experience. Not necessarily a phrase that anybody used but that was the kind of tenor of the contributions. People were saying, well we have made it through that and it was pretty hellish but if we know we can survive it and we are a bit more confident about the boat, perhaps. That leaves us more confident that we will actually get there, and this won't all go bad. We are ok. People are very positive about it. [section deleted]

What's happening now is that two lots of trainees, I think there are about three people left on the boat plus me, have gone ashore to visit the delights of Campbeltown and are expected back in an hour or so. About half past one. Dougie made an observation just before they left, that one of the reasons he liked anchoring, and it seems to be part of the Fairbridge approach, is that it makes it much easier to retain control over what is going on. Who is on the boat and who is off. People can't just get off the boat with or without their bags at their own whim. They have to go and come according to the requirements of the vessel. So there is a nice little data point in relation to the vessel as an institution; it is even more closed when you anchor rather than tie up at a harbour. I guess that is a point worth bearing in mind and worth making to people who haven't thought about it. [section deleted]

J* has expressed a desire to go home, he says he is not feeling very well, who knows what that is all about? He was certainly fairly seasick last night. If Jason goes home then so has D* and B* because they came together, D* and J* are only 15. B* is the volunteer who came with them as their adult escort on the journey. We can't release J* to travel home on his own even if he wanted to. He has agreed to stay on the boat for tonight, give it another day. We have accepted that, Dougie has accepted that. It is a slightly spurious agreement in that it is not perhaps clear that Jason knows that if he stays on the boat today, he might not be able to get off because we will be in places where getting off the boat is not a seriously feasible option. I am just realising that I am standing right above the fore cabin hatch recording that note so I am moving back to the doghouse.

1717

Still in Campbeltown harbour, we are now in the position where J* has made his mind up that he wants to leave, he doesn't want to stay on the boat, he wants to go back home. Dougie is just going ashore to check out travel arrangements for them, Jason wanting to leave means that D* who doesn't want to leave has to go with him, because they are both in the care of Brian for travel purposes. The institution is too much for him, or the sailing is too much for him, or, I am hoping to have a chat to Dougie about it, because he made the observation that it is usually 14 and 15 year old boys, which is certainly resonant with my own experience. He says they get the wrong end of the stick, so I really want to check out with him what he means by that. [End of tape.]

1725

I have just been having a conversation with J*, following on from the previous record, just inquiring why he felt he had to go. He gives an account of a virus he has had four or five times, that starts in his stomach and then goes into his chest and throat. He gets it whenever he goes somewhere cold, including France, and including Wales, so it sounds rather more like something he gets whenever he goes away from home. I am not I have to say entirely convinced, not that he doesn't feel unwell but I am not entirely convinced by the virus story.

1744

Just talking to Dougie about this issue, and he had made an observation about 14, 15 year old boys being the most common dropouts, indicating that both in general they tend not to listen, at that age and not really listen to what the course was about and come along with unrealistic expectations as to how demanding or

challenging it would be. He also has an interesting observation about how Fairbridge operates, and the Fairbridge view of the world, saying that there is a strong focus on the individual and on individual decision-making. In his words, "in this situation individuals aren't important, it's the boat" it's the collective, it's what we contribute to that collective that is the absolutely crucial consideration. So individual decision-making, there is much less scope for it and that can be quite difficult, in this analysis, for people to accept.

So it is developing in an interesting way, and there are further complications in that we have just discovered that the next bus out of Campbeltown is at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning. So that is difficult for us, we have to get this weather window and the tide to go around the Mull of Kintyre tonight, and we can't really put them ashore and expect Brian to pay the cost of a B&B or whatever, for him and possibly two lads, there are further complications emerging in that Daniel has come up with a scheme whereby he could be enabled to stay aboard. S* is expressing concern about possibly having to travel home on a coach from Glasgow to Kent on her own, so the whole situation is becoming more rather than less complex.

A huge amount hinges on this disruption to the make-up of the crew. If you like in institutional analysis terms, because of this threat to breach the boundaries by one person, or desire to breach the boundaries, that has knock-on effects for a whole set of other individuals, and therefore for the institution as a whole at a number of levels including what is possible for us to do consequently. Can we in fact proceed to Oban with six trainees or possibly five trainees, or does something different need to happen. Does this trip need to end up in Troon or in Ardrossan? These are all just speculations at the moment but it illustrates very powerfully the difficulty that this creates, and the significance of an individual choosing to or wishing to leave the boat.

Appendix 3: Data Coding Frameworks

This Appendix shows the hierarchical coding frameworks developed in the analysis of, firstly, the interviews undertaken during the survey of sail training organisations, and secondly the seagoing fieldwork phase of the project. The categories are placed in the table according to their analytical level, with higher-order theoretical and analytic categories to the left and lower order categories to the right. The lower (first order) categories relate directly to informants' expressions and the higher order categories express both the organisation of emerging groups of themes and ideas in the data, and prior conceptions arising from the research questions and theoretical conceptions of the research context. The 'macro categories' are a kind of master organising concept, subsuming in most cases a number of analytic categories

NUDIST PROJECT: Policy Interviews, January 1998-July 1999

Macro-Category	2 nd Order Category	Informants' (1 st Order) Categories
Nature of the Experience	Communal living	Living together Impossibility of escape
	Adventure & challenge	Doing things they'd never done before Dealing with frightening situation
	Discipline	Having to follow orders / instructions Suppressing individual preferences
	Authenticity	Nothing is contrived as a problem Need to sail the boat
Contextual Factors	Voyage characteristics	Crew (Trainees) Duration Weather and sea conditions
	Vessel Characteristics	Size Yacht / Square Rig
	Natural Environment	Wildlife

(Continues on following page)

Macro-Category	2nd Order Category	Informants' (1st Order) Categories
Issues & Problems	Regulation	Professionalisation Bureaucratisation
	Resourcing	Funding and participation Staffing Governance
	Shore-based follow-up	(Lack of) follow up to ST experience
Outcome Claims	Individual-related	Physical well-being Social learning Nautical Learning Confidence & Self Esteem
	Group-related	Group Development Friendship Cooperation & Teamwork Social Mixture or Contrasts
	Intention	Value Stance Social Class Tradition Commitment Conformity
	Negative outcomes	
Informant Data	Organisation	STA OYC Fairbridge Other
	Role	Board Member Administrator Practitioner
	Characteristics	Professional Sailor Ex-Military Posh Voice Gender

This second framework is the final version of the framework(s) developed in the analysis of material from the fieldwork voyages. It follows a similar scheme to the previous framework but has rather more complexity, in that it is derived from a greater variety of sources. In respect of data it draws on descriptive fieldnotes, on interviews with trainees and interviews with staff. In respect of analytic categories these were in some cases 'grounded in' the data, but also emerged from theoretical and research design conceptions, and in a number of cases from the analysis of the survey of organisations. For example the macro-category 'social life and learning' drew heavily on the claims expressed by advocates regarding the importance of communal living. It is also important to note that observation and analysis are not wholly separate activities and that many fieldnotes contain analysis in the direct generation of analytic rather than purely descriptive categories.

NUDIST PROJECT: Sail Training Voyages, March 1998 – July 2001

Macro-Category	2nd Order Category	1st Order Categories
Contextual Features	Social	Pre-formed groups Meeting new people Educational attainment Formality / informality Social mixture
	Environmental	Weather & sea conditions Voyage duration Wildlife
	Staffing and organisation	Planning vs. adhoc-ery Authority Complexity Authenticity vs. artifice Status & Power
	Vessel	Rig Design Authenticity vs. artifice Characterisation of vessel Accommodation

(Continues on following page)

Macro-Category	2 nd Order Category	1 st Order Categories
About the Trainees	Age	13 and under 14-16 17-18 19+
	Age issues	
	Sex	Male Female
	Gender issues	
	Voyage	Lord Rank 4.98 Taikoo 6.98 James Cook 7.98 (Etc.)
About the Trainees (cont.)	Day	Day 0-1 Day 2 Day 3 (Etc.)
	Individual stories	P**, Lord Rank B**, SWC R**, James Cook P** JC J** SoF (Etc.)
	Trainees' preparation	Pre-planned involvement Spontaneous involvement Previous participants' accounts Trainees' previous experiences Previous sailing Prior knowledge of other trainees
Doing and Learning	Sailing	Mast-climbing and 'manning' the rigging Naming things Working aloft Steering Sail handling
	Navigation and related Transitions	Tacking & gybing Sail hoisting Leaving / arriving
	Working together Work or working	
	Life Aboard	Cleaning Cooking & eating Sleeping arrangements Being at sea Seasickness Ship's routine

Macro-Category	2nd Order Category	1st Order Categories
Social Life & Learning	Communication	
	Levels of engagement	
	Non-sailing activity	Games
		Relaxation
	Humour	
	Conflict	
	Communal life	
	Mutual support	
	Individuation vs. communality	
	Symbols & traditions	
	Contrasts	
Institutionality	Leadership and authority	Leadership roles
	Staff approach	
	Responsibility	
Feelings and Attitudes	Anxiety & fear	
	Tiredness	
	Sense of achievement	
	Novel experience	
	Concerns with self	
	Adventure as therapy	
	Confidence	
	Enjoyment	
	Future plans	

Appendix 4: Software and Technology

An ever-widening range of technological aids is available to support qualitative research in the social sciences. The traditional training of social anthropologists is said to have included the skills of a typist, so that fieldnotes could be typed up in an orderly and competent fashion. The twenty-first century qualitative researcher has at her or his disposal an extensive and rapidly developing set of tools for the collection, analysis and presentation or display of data. This project is in many technical respects quite conservative. No video films were made, and the research output is static and modernist rather than dynamically, interactively postmodern.

An interesting feature of the project has been the opportunity to explore and experiment with various kinds of computer software. These have been used to facilitate the generation, management and analysis of the project data, and a few brief notes are offered here.

FileMaker Pro V4.0

FileMaker is a relational database system. What this means is that it allows records to be cross referenced in different ways, establishing connections between different records and different files. It allows the storage and organisation of large bodies of text and was used in the early stages of the project for the management and recording of bibliographic data. It was used throughout the project to manage the logistics of fieldwork including informants' details and practical arrangements for interviews and other activities.

Palimpsest V2(1)r1

Palimpsest was conceived as doing for text-based work what statistical packages do for statisticians and what CAD software does for engineers and designers. It is designed to facilitate working with complex arrays of text-based documents, using hypertext to create links or cross references between different documents or within individual documents. It is not specifically designed for qualitative data analysis but has several features which are valuable in such work. Unlike dedicated QA software Palimpsest simply provides the means to create and organise a system for holding different types of material and for linking different material. In this project Palimpsest was used for the analysis of documents and interview transcripts from the survey of sail training organisations. Its limitations for this kind of work became evident in that it lacks the built-in tools for managing and manipulating data to be found in a dedicated QA package, and once a project grows beyond a certain size its advantages begin to be outweighed.

QSR NUD*IST

NUDIST is one of the best known of modern qualitative analysis packages. Most of these programs are broadly similar and consist of a document system for managing data, and a coding or analysis system for managing the analytic codes, notes and memos. Some packages offer powerful tools for graphical data display as well as automatic text searching and coding. NUDIST is now quite a simple old-fashioned product in this market, with relatively simple tools and a straightforward interface. It was adopted for the analysis of the main fieldwork data after unsatisfactory experiments with Hypersoft and HyperResearch, two applications built on the Hypercard template. Both of these were discovered to be difficult to use and to have few advantages over Palimpsest. NUDIST on the other hand is relatively easy to begin to learn and to use in a basic way. It must be said that the use of the program in this project remained at the simple and basic level. It is designed around the precepts of grounded theory and allows the user to develop saturated coding and to test emerging ideas about the data in a variety of ways. In this project it was used in a much more simple and straightforward manner to store and retrieve data, and to create an analytic framework. It was not used in a textbook fashion.

Microsoft Word and EndNote

Word is well known and has greatly facilitated the production of this text. Less well known is EndNote, a bibliographic database which I was introduced to just as I started the serious work of writing this thesis. It was possible to import all my old FileMaker bibliographies into EndNote, which integrates with Word to enable referencing to become a much less tiresome operation than using 'manual' methods.

My thanks are due to all the software developers whose work has supported mine. I look forward to the new possibilities that digital sound and video recording, coupled with powerful analytic software, may produce.